PETER THE GREAT

VOL. II.

A SWEDISH QUEEN MOTHER OF THE ANCIENT TIME.

PETER THE GREAT

EMPEROR OF RUSSIA

A STUDY OF HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHY

BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES

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A RUSSIAN NUN.

PETER THE GREAT.

XLVI.

THE FOUNDING OF ST. PETERSBURG.

Immediately after the capture of Nyenskanz, a council of war was convened to consider the question of defending and utilising the mouth of the Neva, and whether it would be better to strengthen the little fort which had just been taken, or to seek a fit site for a commercial town nearer the sea. The latter course was decided upon.

Near its mouth the Neva takes a sharp turn and divides into three or four branches, which by subsequent redivision form a number of islands, large and small. These marshy islands, overgrown with forests and thickets, and liable to be covered with water during the westerly winds, were inhabited by a few Finnish fishermen, who were accustomed to abandon their mud huts at the approach of high water, and seek a refuge on the higher ground beyond.

It was on the first of these islands, called by the Finns Yanni-Saari, or Hare Island, where the river was still broad and deep, that Peter laid the foundation of a fortress and a city, named St. Petersburg, after his patron saint. Of the six bastions of the fortress, one was built under the personal superintendence of the Tsar himself, and the other five were given into the charge of Menshikóf, Golovín, Zótof, Trubetskóy, and Cyril Naryshkin. These bastions were at first built of wood; three years afterward they were reconstructed in stone. For

this work many carpenters and masons were sent from the district of Nóvgorod, who were aided by the soldiers. Wheelbarrows were unknown (they are still little used in Russia), and in default of better implements the men scraped up the earth with their hands, and carried it to the ramparts on pieces of matting or in their shirts. Peter wrote to Ramodanófsky, asking him to send the next summer at least 2,000 thieves and criminals destined for Siberia, to do the heavy work under the direction of the Nóvgorod carpenters. At the same time with the construction of the bastions, a church was built in the fortress and dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. It was finished by the next spring, and although small was said by foreigners to be rather pretty, being covered inside with yellow stucco in imitation of marble. It contained a chime of bells tuned to play a piece. The cathedral, with its lofty, slender spire, which now occupies its site, was begun in 1714, ten years later, by the Italian architect Tressini. By the side of the orthodox church arose the Lutheran church of St. Anne. Just outside of the fortress Peter built for himself a small hut, which he called his palace. It was about fifty-five feet long by twenty wide, built of logs roofed with shingles, and contained only three rooms, lighted by little windows set in leaden frames. In respect for this, his earliest residence in St. Petersburg, Peter subsequently had another building erected outside of it to preserve it from the weather, and in this state it still remains, an object of pilgrimage to the curious and devout. Numerous relics of Peter are kept here, and his bedroom is now turned into a chapel, in which prayers are frequently recited before the miraculous image which accompanied the Tsar through his campaigns, and was present at the battle of Poltáva. Near this stood the larger cabin of Menshikóf, the governor-general, where foreign envoys were received and entertainments given; then the residences of the court; and beyond them, on the banks of the river, the huts of the workmen. Close by the bridge leading to the fortress was a drinking-house, for many years a place of general resort, where wine, beer, tobacco, and cards were sold. Its name, The Osteria, and subsequently The Triumphal Osteria of the Four Frigates, shows an Italian influence on some who surrounded Peter.

In spite of disease and mortality among the men, in spite of the floods, which even in the first year covered nearly the whole place and drowned some who were too ill to move, the work went on. But in its infancy St. Petersburg was constantly in danger from the Swedes, both by sea and land. During 1703, it was threatened from the side of Finland by General Kronhjort, who was encamped with a large force on the banks of the river Sestra, and Vice-admiral Nummers, with nine ships, lay at anchor all the summer off the mouth of the Neva. Kronhjort was repulsed, and Peter then devoted all his attention to getting down some ships which he was building on the river Svir, between Lake Ládoga and Lake Onéga. He went there himself, and for a long time personally superintended their construction. Finally, after great difficulty from the dangerous navigation on Lake Ládoga, he succeeded in getting the frigate 'Standard' and a few transports into the Neva. When the cold weather came, Nummers withdrew with his fleet to a Finnish port, and Peter, on his yacht, attended by a galliot, went out into the gulf to explore. In spite of the floating ice, he sailed as far as Retu-Saari, or Kotlin Island, as it was called by the Russians, and himself measured the depth of the channel. North of this island, which was about eighteen miles from the mouth of the Neva, the water was so shallow and the navigation so difficult that there was no danger. But to protect the southern passage he resolved to fortify the island in the place now occupied by the city and fort of Cronstadt, and at a cannon-shot from the shore began a fort in the water. With much hard work in sinking stone for the submarine foundation, the fort was completed during that winter, and received the name of Kronslot. Golovín wrote to Matvéief, at London, of the foundation of Kronslot, and, greatly exaggerating the Russian naval force, said that the Tsar could in a very short time bring into the Baltic Sea twenty ships and frigates, together with seventy-eight full galleys, and one hundred brigantines. This was to entice merchant ships to come to St. Petersburg.

The first ship arrived—almost by accident—in November, 1703. On the news of its approach, Peter went to meet it at the bar, and himself piloted it to port. The astonishment of the skipper, Auke Wybes, at being afterward presented to his

illustrious pilot, was equalled by that of Peter on learning that the ship had been freighted by his old friend Cornelis Calf, of Zaandam. The cargo of salt and wine was welcome. The skipper was feasted by Menshikóf and given a reward of five hundred ducats; each sailor received thirty thalers, and the ship, which was henceforth named the 'St. Petersburg,' was given exemption forever from all tolls and dues. A second Dutch ship and an English ship arriving that year received similar rewards.

The work of ship-building went on during the whole of 1704, but it was not until late in the autumn that additional ships could reach the Neva. The north winds and storms on Lake Ládoga rendered the crossing of the lake very difficult, and placed the ships in constant danger of going ashore on the southern coast. These difficulties, of which Peter had several times personal experience, led him to lay the foundations of the Admiralty in St. Petersburg, and also subsequently to begin the construction of the canal around the southern end of Lake Ládoga, which is now one of the links connecting the waters of the Volga and the Neva. The attacks of De Prou against Kronslot, and of Maidel against St. Petersburg, in 1704, were easily repulsed, as was also an attempt of Maidel to surprise Kronslot in the winter by marching over the ice. But in 1705 the Swedish fleet, under Admiral Anckarstjerna, made a far more serious attempt. The Russians tried to protect their small fleet by planting stakes in the channel, between Kronslot and the Kotlin Island, and binding them together. These tall stakes and poles the Swedes took to be the masts of a numerous fleet, and became more cautious. They held off at such a distance that their bombardment was ineffectual, and two landings on the island were repulsed after a sharp contest. After another vain attempt, the Swedish fleet withdrew. Maidel, who had taken up a position on the north bank of the Neva,[1] and at times held some of the further islands, was unsuccessful both in an attempt against St. Petersburg, and in another

[1] It is from this period, when the Swedes occasionally appeared on the Neva coming from Viborg, that the northern or right bank became known as the 'Viborg side,' an appellation it bears to-day, in distinction from the St. Petersburg side.

against Schlüsselburg. After this, the Swedes did not again disquiet St. Petersburg until 1708. Nevertheless, in May, 1706, Peter himself had an opportunity of seeing the enemy's squadron, which sailed up toward Kronslot, but soon withdrew. He had gone a long distance down the gulf on an exploring expedition, when he saw the Swedish squadron; he therefore immediately returned and signalled by cannon-shot to Vice-admiral Cruys, who refused to believe the news, even when Peter reported in person, and was only convinced when the Swedes appeared within sight. Peter's own words on this subject are amusing. Some months afterward, Cruys, in making a report on other matters, spoke of the general insubordination and ignorance of the naval officers, and added, 'His Majesty, with his skill, knows the importance of perfect subordination.' The Tsar wrote on the back of the report: 'The vice-admiral is himself to blame for the want of skill of the naval officers, as he himself engaged nearly all of them; there is no one then for him to reproach . . . As concerns my skill, mentioned here, this compliment is not on a very firm footing. Here I am called skilled, but not long ago, when I went to sea and saw the enemy's ships from my yacht, and signalled according to custom the number of ships, it was thought only to be amusement or the salute for a toast, and even when I myself came on board to the vice-admiral, he was unwilling to believe until his sailors had seen them from the mast-head. I must, therefore, beg him either to omit my name from the list of those whom he judges skilled, or in future cease from such raillery.'

The foundation of St. Petersburg called out various expressions of feeling in Sweden. Some members of the Council of State prophesied that the growth of St. Petersburg would bring the loss of Finland. Others thought that storm and sea would soon destroy the fortifications of Kronslot and the new town. Jests were made on the name of the island—Yanni-Saari, Hare Island—on which the town was begun, and a Swedish poet proposed in Latin verse that the new city should be called not Petropolis but Leporopolis, which would suit quite as well whether the island were peopled with hares or with Russians. This was a reminiscence of the first battle of Narva. When the news of the foundation of the town was brought to Charles, he said:

'Let the Tsar tire himself with founding new towns; we will keep for ourselves the honour of taking them later.'

St. Petersburg was the apple of Peter's eye. It was his 'paradise,' as he often calls it in his letters. It was always an obstacle, and sometimes the sole obstacle, to the conclusion of peace. Peter was willing to give up all he had conquered in Livonia and Esthonia, and even Narva, but he would not yield the mouth of the Neva. Nevertheless, until the war with Sweden had been practically decided by the battle of Poltáva, and the position of St. Petersburg had been thus secured, although it had a certain importance as a commercial port, and as the fortress which commanded the mouth of the Neva, it remained but a village. The walls of the fortress were finally laid with stone, but the houses were built of logs at the best, and for many years, in spite of the marshy soil, the streets remained unpaved. If fate had compelled the surrender of the city, there would not have been much to regret. Gradually the idea came to Peter to make it his capital. In 1714 the Senate was transported thither from Moscow, but wars and foreign enterprises occupied the Tsar's attention, and it was not until 1718 that the colleges or ministries were fully installed there, and St. Petersburg became in fact the capital of the Empire.

Vockerodt, who lived for many years in Russia at this epoch, and was subsequently for a long time Prussian Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg, says that Peter was actuated partly by his love for the sea, partly by the great desire of perpetuating his memory by the foundation of a new capital, in imitation of Alexander and Constantine, and partly by the hatred he had to the city of Moscow, which he would willingly have seen ruined. As proof of the last, he mentions that, under the pretext that all the masons were necessary in St. Petersburg, an edict was issued forbidding under heavy penalties the least repairs to any stone buildings in Moscow.[1]

It would have been comparatively easy to make St. Petersburg into a beautiful and regular town, but the present arrangement of the city—leaving out of view the embellish-

[1] By Ukase No. 2,828 of June 7, 1714, no more stone houses were to be built in Moscow; by No. 2,848 of October 9, 1714, this prohibition was extended to the whole Empire under pain of exile and confiscation of property.

1. Kazan Cathedral. 2. Admiralty. 3. Hay-Market. 4. Statue of Peter the Great. 5. The Winter Palace. 6. Column of Alexander. 7. German Reformed Church. 8. Grand Palace of Peterhof.

VIEWS IN ST. PETERSBURG.

ments made by succeeding monarchs—is owing partly to chance and partly to Peter's constant changes of plan. At first, the mainland was destined for the Admiralty only and the uses of the marine. All the nobility, and even the commercial classes, were obliged to build their residences in the neighbourhood of the fortress, near the small house which Peter first erected for himself. Here, also, up to 1720, were placed all the government buildings. Then the idea came to Peter that trade would flourish better if all the commercial establishments were placed in Cronstadt; each province was therefore ordered to put up large stone buildings on that island for the reception of merchandise—buildings many of which were never used, and all of which fell rapidly into decay, for immediately after this there was a project of placing the city higher up the river, where the more elevated ground would protect it against inundations. At last Peter decided on the island now, and for a century before that time, called Vasíly Óstrof. Here a regular town was laid out in the Dutch fashion, with canals through all the streets. The danger of inundation on this low ground, the difficulties during the autumn and spring, when the floating ice in the river cut off this island from all communication with the mainland, had not the slightest weight with the Tsar, and again the nobility were compelled to build on this island large and expensive houses, proportionate to the size of their estates. Since Peter's time the fashionable quarter and the governmental offices have been transferred to the mainland, but Vasíly Óstrof still remains the centre of commerce. The canals on the island, and many of those on the mainland, have been filled up; but their places can be recognised by the curious designation of the sides of the streets as 'lines.'

The city of Peter, except in plan, bears little resemblance to the capital we see to-day. The splendid granite quays, with their rows of palaces, the monumental buildings, the churches, the statues and columns which now adorn the town, are all the work of Peter's successors. Few date farther back than the reign of Catherine II.

The only prominent buildings of Peter's time still left are parts of the University and the neighbouring palace of Menshikóf, now converted into a school of cadets. Peter's taste in

architecture was not good. He loved small and low rooms. A spacious and high apartment embarrassed him, and when, in building his Winter Palace, in order to equal the other houses in the row, he found it necessary to make the stories a little higher than he was accustomed to, he had a double ceiling put into the rooms he expected to inhabit, so as to make them lower. Neither his winter nor his summer palaces were fine buildings. The Winter Palace, which was built of brick, was only about 250 feet wide, joined on one side to a private house, with nothing to distinguish it from the other houses on the quay except a portal ornamented with pilasters and surmounted by a naval crown, and two wings which had not the least relation to the principal façade. The Summer Palace in St. Petersburg consisted of three separate and unsymmetrical buildings erected at different times, which had no proportion whatever to one another, and were placed at irregular angles. The country palaces were no better.

The nobility hated St. Petersburg. Even Prince Gregory Dolgorúky, one of the active men of the time, could not help writing in 1717 to Shafírof: 'Although the governors have a hard life (and where now can one be without trouble?), yet I think not one of them would leave his province and be willing to come and live in Petersburg.' Probably all were of the same opinion, and the Princess Mary, the half-sister of the Tsar, went even further, and in conversation with her intimate friends said: 'Petersburg will not endure after our time. May it remain a desert!' The reasons of this dislike were very simple. The nobility were accustomed to an easy life in Moscow, where they had large houses, where they had plenty of servants and good horses, and where nearly all their provisions were brought from their own neighbouring estates or else bought very cheaply in the Moscow market. In St. Petersburg they were obliged to build new houses at great expense, and under very vexatious regulations as to plan; they no longer could easily send to their estates for provisions and additional servants; everything had to come an immense distance; the cost of living was very great; and more than that, the climate was very unhealthy. They had none of the comforts, none of the amusements of Moscow. They did not care for boats or for sailing, and they could not even leave town for a country place, because St. Petersburg was

surrounded by nothing but woods and bogs. Owing to the rawness of the climate no fruit could grow except in certain portions of the Vasíly Óstrof, and no vegetables but cabbage and turnips. The wild animals which had previously inhabited the locality were not all driven away, and in 1714 two soldiers on guard in front of the Foundry were devoured by wolves, and a little time after a woman was torn to pieces in the middle of the day in front of Prince Menshikóf's house. In order to economise fuel —and it was forbidden to cut wood on the islands—no one was allowed to heat his bath-house more than once a week.

To procure building materials for the public edifices, every boat and every cart coming to the city was obliged to bring a certain number of large stones. Workmen and colonists were sent thither from all parts of the empire. In November, 1713, order was given that 34,000 should be sent during the year following. By such means the city grew fast, and we are told that in April 1714 there were 34,550 buildings large and small, and in 1718 over 40,000.

The frequent inundations, the bad climate, and the marshy soil all produced disease, and the mortality among the workmen employed in building the town was frightful. In 1717 Prince Alexis Tcherkásky in reporting to the Tsar that work by contract would be better than forced labour, said that a thousand workmen a year and sometimes more either died or ran away, while as many more were laid up by illness. These numbers may have been less than the truth, but even with the cold, the damp, and the dysentery, it is impossible to trust the statement current abroad soon afterward, that as many as 200,000 men had lost their lives in building the city, which would be at the rate of 10,000 a year for twenty years. At the same time, we must remember that even now St. Petersburg is a deadly city, and one of the few in the world where the death-rate always exceeds the birth-rate. It is only kept in existence by immigrations from the country.[1]

The building of St. Petersburg seems almost like a freak. Its construction became a passion with Peter, and no obstacles

[1] The sufferings of the builders of St. Petersburg find their echo even today in popular songs, well known to all the peasants of the neighbourhood.

could be found great enough to prevent his carrying out his design; yet it was nothing but a very costly and an almost useless toy. The fortress on which so much money and so much life were spent, then, as now, protected nothing. Its guns could never reach the enemy, unless the town had been previously taken. It now guards nothing but the mint, and the cathedral containing the imperial tombs. During the reign of Peter's successors, its walls were used as a suitable background for fireworks and illuminations, and its casemates have always been found convenient for the reception of political prisoners. Strategically it was necessary to protect the mouth of the Neva, but this was done by Cronstadt. Commercially, St. Petersburg was of importance as being a seaport, but the conquest, soon after, of Reval and Riga, gave to Russia new and better ports, and the high price of living at St. Petersburg added burdens to the commerce there which nearly equalised the advantages. Even then, Riga was almost as near Moscow as was St. Petersburg, and had a good straight road been constructed, commerce would have quickly taken that channel. This was not done, and the great *détour* necessary sent commerce to St. Petersburg. At the present time, with the railways to Riga, Reval, and other points on the Baltic, the commerce of St. Petersburg, proportionally with other places, is declining. The receipts from duties on foreign goods are fully as great at Moscow as at St. Petersburg. The commerce of Riga, Reval, Libau, and Baltic Port is constantly increasing, while Königsberg and other Prussian ports receive a great quantity of Russian trade.

St. Petersburg may once have been what Count Algarotti called it in 1769—a great window for Russia to look out at Europe, but it is so no longer. The traveller from London or Paris can go as easily and as quickly to Moscow as to St. Petersburg. The European ideas, and customs, and fashions which came to St. Petersburg turned it, even in Peter's time, into a thoroughly European town, and such it has always remained; but the ideas of Europe took a long time to pass over the four hundred miles of desolate country stretching between the capital and Moscow, and, in the same way, the provinces found great difficulty in making their complaints, their wants, and their situation known at St. Petersburg. Until most recent

times, there was only one road leading from the interior to St. Petersburg, and communication was difficult and easily interrupted. The government of the country was, indeed, always carried on, but, as far as regarded its sympathy with the population, its knowledge of their needs and wants, it might as well have been on a distant island. This was felt even in the last century, and Vockerodt, writing in 1737, says: 'As concerns the common weal, the residence of the court at St. Petersburg seems likewise to be more harmful than advantageous, and it is still a great question whether the sovereign of Russia does not in this way stand in his own light, and prejudice his own power. All affairs relating to justice and the internal government of the country can be much more promptly cared for at Moscow, in the middle of the country; and the Russian commandants, who are so very much inclined to stealing, will be much better held in check from Moscow than St. Petersburg, which lies quite at one end of the empire.' He adds that 'no advantage has been obtained by the country from St. Petersburg which would not have been had in far greater measure at Moscow, had the government been left there. What sort of a difference this makes was shown by the experience of the government of Peter II., and in the first years of the present Empress [Anne]. When the Court went to Moscow, in 1728, not only were all the public chests empty, but also money was so rare among private persons that interest rose to twelve and fifteen per cent. Two years afterward, about the time when Peter II. died, interest fell to eight and six per cent. All the public chests were again filled, so that the astonishing expenses which the Court made at the beginning of the present reign caused no lack of money. But after the Court had come back for a few years to St. Petersburg, the whole country (although no new imposts had been placed on it except the recruiting of men and horses for the army) came to a very wretched condition, and a lack of ready money is only too plainly shown.'

Even now, with all the pleasures, the comforts, and the luxuries of St. Petersburg, with its agreeable society, its intellectual culture, and its political interest, the foreigner living there for a time feels as if he were out of the world. It is not so much the great distance which separates him from Berlin and

Vienna, or even Warsaw and Moscow, as the fact that, except the small collection of villas along the gulf and near Tsárskoe Seló, the country is flat, desolate, marshy, and almost entirely uninhabited for many miles around. The railways which leave the capital pass, for much of their length, over a desolate-looking plain or through cheerless forests. The true Russia is far away.

St. Petersburg derives its whole importance from the fact of its being the capital. It is curious to look at a large plan and see how very many of the buildings are owned by the Government. Take away the Court and the army of Government officials, and St. Petersburg would soon sink to a third-rate town.[1]

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[1] Ustriálof, IV. x.; Reimers, *St. Petersburg am Ende seines ersten Jahrhunderts*, St. Petersburg, 1803; Pekársky, *Old Times of St. Petersburg*, in *Contemporary* (Russian) for 1860; J. G. Vockerodt, *Russland unter Peter dem Grossen*, edited by Dr. E. Herrmann, Leipzig, 1872; Algarotti, *Lettere sopra la Russia;* A. L. Mayer, the *Old Winter Palace*, in *European Messenger* (Russian) for May, 1872.

XLVII.

CHARLES XII. IN POLAND.—1702-1705.

We left King Charles, after his defeat of the Poles on the Düna, determined to inflict a severe chastisement on King Augustus, even although in so doing he gave the Russians a clear field. The petitions of the inhabitants of Riga, the representations of the Swedish Diet, the advice of the foreign ambassadors, were all rejected with scorn. Charles refused to listen to any propositions of treating with King Augustus, and would be satisfied with nothing less than his dethronement. To the Diet he replied that he considered it 'derogatory to himself and to his honour to have the slightest dealings with a man who had acted in such a dishonourable and shameful way;' and to the King of France he wrote that 'the conduct of King Augustus was so shameful and base that it deserved the vengeance of God and the contempt of all right-thinking men.' General Spens said of the King: 'He believes that he is an agent of God on earth, sent to punish every act of faithlessness.'

Whether a Swedish invasion of Russia would have been successful or not, whether Charles could have captured Moscow or not, at all events he could have prevented the Russians from establishing themselves on the Neva, and from taking Dorpat and Narva. But he was then too much occupied with his vengeance on King Augustus, and was far away on the banks of the Vistula. It might be that the Russian check would have been temporary and not permanent, but it certainly would have been many years before the Swedes would have been driven from the south of the Baltic. It has been often said that an inevitable necessity led Russia to the shore of the Finnish gulf, and that Sweden must sooner or later have yielded to the pressure. Oscar II., the present King of Sweden, perhaps the ablest and

the most careful critic of his great predecessor, says in reply to this:

'There is a certain degree of truth in this view. The stream of emigration has always been from the East to the West, and it is doubtful whether even to-day it has entirely ceased. The discovery of the New World and the beginning of the colonisation of the North American continent occurred during the next period after the emigration from Asia to Europe, just spoken of, seemed to have reached its end. In that way its continuation was favoured. Can one not say, with good reason, that the Slavonic race, with its fresh, youthful elasticity, visible in so many of the phenomena of its life, is like a mighty steam-engine, while America, like a gigantic air-pump continually sucking, always prepares the necessary vacuum for the steam? Much that has happened and is still happening can be explained in such wise. But although man cannot succeed in stopping the path of the history of the world and the general development of the fate of nations, yet everyone who claims to be called a statesman must not only not favour, but must even work with all his power against, what is evidently harmful to his country. This is a duty to which he may, perhaps, fall a victim, but the right understanding and fulfilment of it separate him from the common herd which listens to the enticing siren-voice of the instant, and follows the many-coloured standard of fortune wherever it may be raised. The application to Charles XII., and his manner of action, is easily made. His want of perception in treating the northern seat of war as a side issue is so much the more to be deplored, as it was probably then still possible to stop for a long time the conquests of Russia at our cost.' [1]

After the victory on the Düna, Charles took up his winter quarters in Curland, which he wished to punish as being a fief of Poland. He refused to make any distinction between the Polish Republic, which had not declared war, and King Augustus, who had been in the field against him. A feud which had existed for generations between the two great Lithuanian families of Sapieha and Oginski, gave him an excellent pretext for

[1] *Carl den Tolfte*, af Oscar Fredrik, pp. 24, 25. Stockholm, 1868.

interference. One of the Sapieha family had supported the claims of the Prince de Conti to the Polish throne in opposition to Augustus, and that monarch had, therefore, espoused the cause of Oginski. Charles, under pretext of assisting the Sapieha and putting down the Oginski party, found means of making incursions into Lithuania, and supporting his troops on the country. Meanwhile, the Cardinal Primate, Radziejowski, who, we remember, was one of the parties taken into the confidence of Patkul, Augustus and the Russians, and who, for a considerable bribe, had promised to secure the consent of the Polish Diet to the war, was intriguing against Augustus. He sent word to Charles that the Polish Republic had nothing whatever to do with the war against him, which the King had made without their consent. Charles replied that the only way for Poland to secure peace was to call a Diet, declare that Augustus had forfeited the crown by making war without the consent of Poland, and elect a new king. In vain did Augustus sue for peace. He even sent his mistress, the beautiful Countess Aurora von Königsmark, to Charles's winter quarters, but she returned without even having seen the King, except in the street, and her misadventure was made the pretext for a satirical medal, with subject and legend taken from the story of Samson and Delilah. The chamberlain, Von Vitzthum, fared still worse, for his despatches were taken from him. The Swedes took pains to spread the story that King Augustus had proposed a division of Poland between himself and the King of Sweden, so as to destroy the Republic and create an absolute monarchy in its stead. To the Polish deputations coming to ask for peace, and demand that their rights should be respected, Charles replied, after long delays, that he would answer them when he arrived at Warsaw, at the same time saying that he had come to restore the ancient liberties of Poland, and to protect them from the attempts of Augustus to establish the absolute rule of his own dynasty. These words certainly sounded strange in the mouth of the absolute Charles XII., and there were many Poles who saw through the thin veil which covered his warlike intentions. In some of the published replies there were sharp criticisms on his conduct, and one of them said: 'These Swedes, who, in their own home, are slaves to the whims of an absolute

lord, now come hither, as they say, to defend our liberties, although they have not been able to keep their own.'

Leaving 8,000 men to protect Lithuania, Charles set out for Warsaw in April, 1702, with 16,000 men, in spite of the advice of Rehnskjöld, Liewen, and Stenbock, the last of whom even questioned the legality of the invasion. Warsaw was occupied without opposition, and a heavy contribution was laid on the inhabitants, for, as Charles said, 'The Swedes cannot live on air and water, and the Poles must care for them, as they themselves have invited them.'

Augustus had summoned the nobility of the kingdom to his aid. Some responded, but many hesitated, and others flatly refused, believing the rumour, which had got abroad and was so carefully spread by the Swedes, of negotiations begun by the King for the partition of the country. He finally got together a force of 20,000 men. Charles could not at this time oppose more than 12,000 troops, and it was necessary to leave part in Warsaw to keep down that city. He therefore waited two months with great impatience for reinforcements, rode out himself to meet them when he heard of their approach, and immediately began to march towards Cracow. At Klissow, on the anniversary of the battle on the Düna, the army of King Augustus was totally defeated, although the Saxon troops stood their ground well. The walls of Cracow were in bad condition, but the citadel was strong. Stenbock, with 300 men, arrived in the suburb and found the gate closed. He demanded entrance, but the answer was that the keys were not there. He then asked for Wielopolski, the commandant, who immediately appeared, but refused to allow the Swedes to enter. During the parley, Charles suddenly appeared, and shouted in a loud voice, '*Ouvrez la porte!*' Wielopolski, hearing this commanding tone, had the curiosity to open the gate a little to see who had spoken. Charles immediately gave him a violent cut in the face with his riding-whip, the Swedes forced the gate open, and reached the citadel even before the commandant. For the delay in yielding, a heavy contribution was exacted from Cracow under the direction of Stenbock, who was made governor, or, as he himself expresses it in a letter to his wife: 'I am now the commissary, the governor, and the devil of the town.' In three

CHARLES XII. AT CRACOW.

weeks he got from Cracow 130,000 thalers, besides 10,000 pairs of shoes, 10,000 lbs. of tobacco, 160,000 lbs. of meat, 60,000 lbs. of bread, 12,000 lbs. of ham, and other articles.

Augustus retired to Sandomir, where he convoked the Diet. The attendance was small, but the disputes were violent, and Lipski, the Voievode of Kalisz, was cut to pieces in one of the quarrels, having been accused of bringing about the Swedish invasion. The King could not prevail upon the Diet to declare war. The Poles preferred still to use all their efforts at negotiation, in order to persuade the Swedes to withdraw and to leave the Republic in peace. Charles refused to receive the deputation, on the ground that the whole of Poland was not represented, and declared his unalterable resolution to dethrone Augustus. Propositions of mediation from Austria and France were likewise rejected. Nothing would satisfy him but the deposition of Augustus in Poland, and he even demanded his abdication in Saxony. Even still more than the Poles and the partisans of Augustus, did the Swedes themselves beg their king to come to terms with Augustus, and continue the war against Russia. The Duchess Hedwiga Sophia, Charles's favourite sister, herself intervened, but could make no change in her brother's plans. Just at this time came the news of Schlippenbach's defeats, and of the terrible devastation of Livonia. The army was excited by this news, and at a council of war the generals unanimously made a representation to the King, expressing their desire to leave Poland and rescue the Livonian provinces from the Tsar. Charles replied shortly: 'My honour, my conscience, and the security of my kingdom do not allow me to fulfil your wishes;' and it is said that he added: 'Even if I should have to remain here fifty years, I would not leave the country until Augustus is dethroned.'

In hastening out one day to see the exercise of some Polish troops which had been collected by Stenbock, the horse of the King stumbled over a tent-rope, and Charles broke his left leg above the knee. His physicians feared grave consequences if he remained in the tent, and he was taken to a house in the suburbs of Cracow, where he lay for many weeks. The news of his accident was kept as secret as possible, but his sudden disappearance excited much comment, and rumours of his death were

for a long time current. As soon as he was able to mount his horse again, he took up his winter quarters in the neighbourhood of Sandomir.

The promises which Charles had made on entering Poland—that he should demand only the contributions necessary for the subsistence of his army, that churches should not be plundered, and that the property of the nobility should be respected—were kept for only three months. Such complaints reached him from Sweden of the want of money, and the scarcity of every kind prevailing there, that after the battle of Klissow everything was changed. Charles resolved that his army should be supported by the Poles. Contributions of all kinds were levied, and the money demands were in many cases doubled. If objections were made to payment, estates, villages, and towns were burnt to the ground. During the winter, Stenbock, with 2,500 men, was sent into Galicia and Volynia to obtain money, forage, and provisions, and with orders to destroy the estates of all who refused to join the Swedes.

Although the ravages committed by Stenbock's troops and the contributions levied were very great, the general did not carry out to their full extent the instructions of the King, who says in one of his letters that 'the Poles must either be annihilated or forced to join us;' and in another: 'All the Poles that you get hold of you must force to follow us, *nolens volens*, or ruin them so that they will long remember the visit of Master He-goat. Use your best endeavours to squeeze out, pick out, and get together the most you can.'

In the spring of 1703, Charles defeated another army, which Augustus had got together from Lithuania, at Pultusk on the Nareva, to the north of Warsaw, and then advanced to Thorn, which he besieged for five months.

Meanwhile, in June, Augustus assembled a Diet at Lublin. To the general astonishment, Cardinal Radziejowski appeared, and asked private audience of the King. A private audience was not granted, but the cardinal was received publicly, when the accusations against him of introducing the Swedish troops were so strong that he was allowed to say nothing in his defence, but was compelled to kneel down and swear publicly before all that he had not introduced the Swedes, or supported them, or

intrigued against the King, and to promise, on his honour, faithful service to his country. Although the Diet still wished to employ negotiations and peaceful measures, yet it resolved to increase the crown army to 36,000 men, and the Lithuanian army to 12,000, and gave the King permission to make whatever treaties with foreign powers might seem desirable. The deputies of the provinces of Kalisz and Posen were not admitted to this Diet, as those provinces were occupied by the Swedes, and it was said their votes would not be free. They, therefore, formed a confederation at Schrod, which was joined by the nobility of several provinces, declared their dissatisfaction with the results of the Diet of Lublin, and took the side of Sweden. Prince Lubomirski, who commanded the Polish crown army, was jealous of the young Prince Wisniowiecki, the commander of the Lithuanians, sacrificed his patriotism to the feeling of revenge, wasted time in petty disputes, and remained an inactive spectator. Nor even could the rest of the army work together. Steinau, who commanded the Saxons, refused to co-operate with Wisniowiecki; Oginski, angry at losing some place he had desired, sowed rebellion among the Lithuanians, and, before anything could be done, the Swedish reinforcements arrived from Danzig, and Thorn was taken.

During the siege of Thorn, requests were again made to Charles to conclude peace. England, Austria, and Holland all intervened. They had, it is true, a selfish interest, for they desired the assistance of the Swedish troops against the French. The war of the Spanish succession had broken out in 1702. Robinson, one of the last English clerical diplomatists, later Bishop of London, but then Minister at Stockholm, went to Charles's headquarters in order to impress upon him the discontent and want prevailing in Sweden, and to urge him to peace. An audience was for a long time denied him, but he finally, half through surprise, succeeded in having a conversation with Charles in the open road. His efforts were without success, and his colleagues of Austria and Holland were unable to express their advice. Piper, too, made another attempt, and added, as a new and pressing reason for peace, that the Russians had now occupied Ingria, and had got a harbour on the Baltic. 'These events have for Sweden a much more important significance than who

occupies the Polish throne.' Charles remained obstinate, and the minister could only say: '*Dixi et levavi animam meam.*' During the course of the summer a treaty was made with Holland, by which Charles promised auxiliary troops against France after the conclusion of peace. This made Holland so desirous that peace should be concluded, that, together with Austria and England, the States-General made a new representation to Charles, this time in writing. A brief answer was returned, that nothing could be done until the Polish Republic showed in what manner it was ready to restore peace. By the advice of Raphael Leszczynski, Charles now no longer stated openly his intention of dethroning Augustus, but referred simply to his previous conditions, so as not to excite too much the pride and obstinacy of the Polish nobles, who, much as they disliked Augustus, felt themselves bound in honour to retain him on the throne. While so many powers were desirous of peace, two, at least, were glad of the war — Denmark and France; the latter because it preferred that the King of Sweden should be occupied in Poland rather than turn his arms against her,[1] while Denmark saw with pleasure the great military strength of Sweden wasted

Count Charles Piper.

[1] Colonel Lenk, a secret agent of France, wrote to the French Cabinet: 'As far as I am able to see through the King of Sweden, I am sure that he will not cease this war till he has ruined his own country. For, if he does not entirely change his character, he will continue to wage war as long as he lives.'

in such adventures. Prussia hoped to get something for herself out of the troubles of others, and King Frederick, adopting the plan already put forward by Augustus, proposed to Charles to annex West Prussia, while the Swedes should take Polish Livonia and part of Lithuania. In that way he thought the Poles could always be kept down, and that there would be no necessity for dethroning Augustus, who would be absolute sovereign of the remainder of Poland. This, however, did not fall in with Charles's views, and the negotiations were discontinued.

Charles took the confederation of Schrod, or Great Poland, under his protection, and the sum of 200,000 thalers, which Stenbock used in bribes, gave him hopes of soon being able to accomplish his idea, so that in December, 1703, he addressed an open letter to the Republic, in which he proposed Prince Jacob Sobieski for the future King of Poland, and promised, if he were elected, to support him until he should obtain quiet possession of the throne. This excited Austria, England, and Holland, and not only did Queen Anne send an autograph letter to Charles, but Robinson again did his best to dissuade him from compelling the Polish nation to depose the king whom they had themselves freely chosen, and urged him not to set such a bad example to the world. Charles replied: 'I wonder greatly to hear such remarks from the minister of a state which once carried its boldness so far as to cut off the head of its king.' The powers desisted from further action, fearing greatly lest Charles should get so angry as openly to support the cause of France.

In January, 1704, the Primate Radziejowski called a Diet at Warsaw, under the pretext of making peace with the King of Sweden, who had declared that he wished to treat with the Republic, and not with King Augustus. In spite of the efforts of Radziejowski and of Horn, who with a large Swedish force protected and influenced the Diet, and at the same time prevented undecided members from running away, the feeling was so strong against foreign interference in the concerns of the country that there was much hesitation and delay; and it was not until April, after the Swedes had brought up proof of the proposals of Augustus to make peace with Charles by dividing Poland, that the Diet declared the throne vacant. Meantime, Augustus had succeeded in kidnapping Jacob Sobieski and his

brother in Silesia, although in so doing he had invaded Austrian territory. He himself was weary of the contest, and ready to make peace by resigning the Polish crown; but the French and the Danes still counselled him to resistance. It was necessary now to find another candidate, and when Alexander Sobieski refused to allow his name to be used, Charles, passing over the ambitious Lubomirski and Radziewill, selected Stanislas Leszczynski. There was still another period of hesitation; and finally, when Horn's patience was entirely exhausted, a small meeting of electors was held in the field of Wola, near Warsaw, surrounded by Swedish troops, in the absence of the magnates of the kingdom, and, in a manner so contrary to all the prescriptions of the laws that even some of his own supporters drew back, Leszczynski was proclaimed Stanislas I., King of Poland. This was in July, 1704.

Now that Augustus had been deposed—regularly or irregularly—and a new king elected, many supposed and hoped that Charles would at last leave Poland, and turn his arms against Russia, in order to free those provinces which had already been occupied by the Tsar. The Swedish King, however, had promised to stand by his candidate until his crown was secure, and the manner of the election of Stanislas diminished the number of his supporters and increased again the party of Augustus. There was enough to do in Poland for a long time.

So long as Augustus could make some opposition to the Swede, Peter could go on with his aims in Russia without doing more in Poland than simply fulfilling his obligations in furnishing money and troops. But now it was necessary to aid Augustus more actively in order to prevent a Swedish invasion of Russia. Patkul was therefore sent with 100,000 thalers to Denmark, in order to bring that kingdom to acts of open hostility toward Sweden, and had succeeded in winning over the Countess Viereck, the King's mistress, when her death prevented the success of his plan. The Saxon ministers, too, needed presents and promises to render them more vigorous in carrying on the war. Meantime, envoys from Augustus himself, from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and even one of the Oginski family, had come to Russia asking for active assistance. In July, 1703, a treaty was concluded with the envoys of Lithu-

ania, to take effect as soon as the Republic of Poland had espoused the Russian side. The next year Thomas Dzialynski,

Stanislas I., King of Poland.

the Voievode of Chelm, went to Russia on the part of the Polish Republic, and found the Tsar in front of Narva. Two months

afterward, and ten days after the storming of Narva, August 30, 1704, an offensive and defensive alliance against Sweden was concluded between Russia and Poland. Both powers bound themselves to carry on the war actively, and to make no separate treaties. Russia promised to compel the Cossack Paléi to restore the towns which he had taken from Poland in the Ukraine, to give up to Poland at the end of the war all his conquests in Livonia, to furnish a contingent of 12,000 men, well armed, with sufficient ammunition and supplies, for the next year, 1705, to give the King 200,000 rubles (83,000*l.*), for the support of his army, and to make similar annual payments for every year the war lasted.

Immediately after this, Prince Repnin, with twelve regiments of infantry and cavalry, was sent toward Polótsk to act under the Polish orders, but with strict instructions not to assist in any general engagement. Peter felt sure that the Poles would be beaten in a general battle, and wished to harass the enemy by small skirmishes. Field-marshal Sheremétief was also ordered to Polótsk, in order to make an attack on the troops of Lewenhaupt in Curland during the winter, when the rivers were frozen. By means of Mazeppa, the Cossack Paléi was enticed to Moscow and exiled to Siberia. His private property was confiscated, and the towns which he had seized were restored to the Poles.

The war in Poland had been going on with varying success. While Charles had marched upon Lemberg in Galicia, which he had captured with great booty, Augustus had plucked up courage, and with an accession of troops had surprised Warsaw, nearly capturing his rival, Stanislas. General Arvid Horn, the Swedish commander, was not so lucky, and after a two days' siege in the Warsaw citadel was obliged to surrender. Some of the family of Stanislas were captured, as well as the Bishop of Posen, who had declared him king. The latter was sent to Rome for judgment. The Primate Radziejowski succeeded in escaping to Thorn, where he died within a year.

Augustus was joined in Warsaw by eleven Russian regiments, as well as by the Saxon troops under Field-marshal Schulenburg; but although he had now 40,000 troops, he did not feel strong enough to attack Charles, and, finding that the

Swedes were proceeding toward Warsaw by forced marches, he abandoned his capital, and took refuge first in Cracow and then in Dresden, while his army dispersed. Patkul was ordered to abandon the siege of Posen some hours before the time he had fixed for storming it. Charles, after occupying Warsaw, rapidly followed up Schulenburg, who had joined Patkul, and defeated him near Punitz. Four Russian regiments defended themselves with great vigour against Wellingk. They refused the capitulation which the Swedes offered them; they resolved to defend themselves to the last man in the village which they occupied; and the most of them either were killed or perished in the flames. The Swedish soldiers had an opportunity of seeing the difference between the Russian soldiers of Narva, in 1700, and those of 1704.

After having thoroughly cleared Poland of Russians and Saxons, the Swedish army took up their winter quarters along the boundary of Silesia, where, in the town of Rawicz, Charles passed the whole winter and the greater part of the summer of 1705.[1]

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[1] Fryxell, I.; Sarauw; Lundblad, I.; Ustriálof, IV. xiv.

XLVIII.

THE CAMPAIGN IN CURLAND.—1705.

The five years between the capture of Narva and Dorpat and the battle of Poltáva were for Peter years of anxiety and distress. The burden of the war came upon Russia; its issue was always uncertain. Rebellions in Astrakhan, among the Bashkirs, and among the Cossacks of the Don, added to the dangers and difficulties arising from the universally prevailing discontent. At intervals Peter suffered greatly in health, and even his domestic happiness, as we have already seen, was alloyed with regrets and presentiments.

At the end of December, 1704, Peter went from Narva to Moscow, which he entered with a triumphal procession, in which the Swedish prisoners took part, and many of the guns of Narva were shown. On March 1 he went to Vorónezh, where he remained two months, occupying himself still with building new ships and planning new dockyards. While there he was alarmed by a report that the Swedes were contemplating an invasion of Lithuania. Fortunately it turned out to be false, as Charles, with all his troops, was then in winter quarters at Rawicz. Nevertheless, Peter wished to join the army, but, as we know, was detained for more than a month by a fever at the country house of Theodore Golovín.[1] Menshikóf, we remember, came to Moscow, full of anxiety, to see him, but Peter had already recovered, and, after passing his birthday at Preobrazhénsky, was able, about the middle of June, to start for the front by the way of Smolénsk and Vitébsk. We learn from the Austrian agent that, on his departure, orders were given that during the whole time of his absence prayers should be

[1] See Vol. I., page 438.

said in the churches on every Wednesday and Friday, and that business on those days should absolutely cease. This may have fallen in with the feelings of the pious Russians of that time, but it must have been disastrous to the commercial interests of the country.[1]

At Polótsk he found waiting for him a numerous and well-disciplined army, composed of 40,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry, 'all in such good order that no German troops are better mounted, exercised, and armed.' This Peter owed to the experienced General Ogilvy, who, on the recommendation of Patkul, had left the Austrian to enter the Russian service. Although Peter had generally followed Ogilvy's advice as to reorganising the army, and had given him the rank of field-marshal, yet he refused to make him the general-in-chief, preferring to reserve this post for a Russian. Ogilvy was liked by the soldiers, but found it difficult to get on with the Russian officers. Although he may have known some other Slav language, he was ignorant of Russian, was compelled to treat with the other generals through an interpreter, and, as a foreigner, was disliked and suspected by them. It had been arranged in the contract with Ogilvy that he was always to have a separate command, and we have seen that he was actually the commander-in-chief during the siege of Narva. He had difficulty in acting in harmony, not only with Repnin, who was his subordinate, but also with Sheremétief, who was his equal in point of rank, and the only other field-marshal in the Russian service. Peter, while at Vorónezh, thought to solve the difficulty by putting all the cavalry under the command of Sheremétief, and the infantry under that of Ogilvy. This arrangement was equally displeasing to both, and if Peter had had any real military experience, he would have immediately seen its impracticability. The problem was finally solved by sending Sheremétief, with a separate command, into Curland to operate against Lewenhaupt.

After issuing a proclamation to the Poles, stating that the Russian troops entered Poland in consequence of his alliance with the King and the Republic, Peter started with all his army for Wilna.

[1] Ustriálof, IV. (2nd pt.) p. 643. No official decree of this kind is on record.

The evening before the march there had been a regrettable occurrence, owing to Peter's hasty temper. With some of his officers he had, out of curiosity, visited a monastery not far from Polótsk, belonging to the Uniates, or United Greeks, a

Peter Striking the Priest in the Monastery.

sect which, originally Orthodox, and still keeping many Eastern rites, had been forced by the Polish kings to submit to the jurisdiction of the Roman Pope. The priests and monks of

this sect were far more fanatical than genuine Catholics, and instead of satisfying the Tsar's curiosity, and politely answering his questions, as Catholics frequently had done before and did afterward, they were rude and impolite. On passing behind the altar-screen, Peter was told to retire, as adversaries of the faith like him were not allowed there. Seeing one picture more richly adorned than the others, he asked what scene it represented. They answered: 'The martyr Josaphat.' 'And what does the axe in his hand mean?' asked the Tsar. 'That is the instrument with which the heretical Russians martyred him,' was the reply.[1] Peter, indignant and angry, if the Roman account can be credited, struck the priest in the face, and then ordered his suite to arrest the priests and monks, and try them as traitors—for some of them had been Russians, and they were accused of corresponding with the Swedes and of upholding the party of Stanislas. Seeing the small number of Peter's suite, the monks resisted, and the Russians drew their swords, and in a general scuffle four monks were killed, and a fifth—a Russian subject, a convert from orthodoxy—was arrested, condemned to death, and hanged on the following day. Peter so regretted this affair that he felt it necessary, on arriving at Wilna, to publish a manifesto in exculpation of himself, giving a mild version of the whole matter—bad enough even in that form. It is probable that the wine drunk at the supper at Oginski's, just before, had much to do with it.

Two weeks after Peter's arrival at Wilna, he was greatly disturbed by a despatch from Sheremétief, stating that he had been badly defeated by the Swedes under Lewenhaupt.

When Charles XII., in 1702, advanced into Lithuania, he left behind him in Curland a tolerably strong force under the command of General Stuart; but, as that general was still suffering from the wound he had received at the landing on Zealand, the command usually devolved on Count Adam Lewenhaupt, a nephew of Count Gustavus Adolphus Lewenhaupt, the celebrated field-marshal in the time of Charles X. He had

[1] Josaphat Kuntsévitch, Bishop of Polótsk, a leader of the Uniates, was killed by a mob at Vitebsk in 1623. In consequence of the miracles at his tomb he was beatified in 1643 by Pope Urban VIII., and he was finally canonised in 1867.

studied in the universities of Lund, Upsala, Wittenberg, and Rostock, where he had gained that fluency in speaking Latin which made him frequently useful as interpreter in the negotiations with the Poles, and which was at the same time so rare among soldiers that it gained him from his brother officers the nickname of 'The Latin colonel.' He had received his military education in Holland and Hungary. Though in the highest degree personally brave, he tried to leave nothing to the chance of war, but studied and weighed every movement, and looked after the lives of his soldiers, sparing them useless dangers and difficulties. He was the exact opposite of the school of officers which had been formed around King Charles, and was frequently an object of their jests. Charles himself respected Lewenhaupt's great qualities, and did him justice, but never entered into confidential relations with him. It was entirely owing to Lewenhaupt that the Swedes had been able to maintain themselves with honour in Curland. With 10,000 men, which gradually became reduced to 7,000, he had on several occasions beaten Poles, Saxons, and Russians, besides obtaining frequent successes in mere partisan and guerilla warfare. In 1703, with 1,300 men, he had, at Schagarini, beaten Oginski, who commanded 6,500 Russians, Lithuanians, and Poles, and this with a loss of only forty men. In 1704, he had again beaten the combined Russians and Poles at Jacobstadt, even after his Polish allies, commanded by the young Sapieha, had taken precipitate flight, and had occupied Birze. In his manner of carrying on the war, he formed an exception to the generals of either side. While the whole of this Polish war was a continued course of murders, slaughters, massacres, devastations, and conflagrations, Lewenhaupt distinguished himself by respecting the lives and properties of the peaceful inhabitants of the country through which he marched. In 1704, he had indeed burnt a number of villages in Lithuania, but only on the express orders of Charles, in order to put down the adherents of Augustus. Through his unusual mildness, he had so gained the hearts of the inhabitants of Riga and Curland that they were accustomed to say: 'Good Swedes we are not, but we are good Lewenhaupters.'

The object of the Russian campaign was to annihilate the

army of Lewenhaupt, drive him out of Curland, and attack Riga. Reval would thus be cut off from all communication with the Swedes, except by sea, and the Russian army, in its further operations against the Swedes, would not have to fear any attack in the rear. For this purpose, Sheremétief, with eight regiments of dragoons and three of infantry, amounting altogether to about 10,000 men, set out in the direction of Mitau. General Bauer made a dash on Mitau, penetrated the outside defences, and produced such a general panic that the commandant had barely time to escape into the citadel. He returned with many prisoners and trophies. Lewenhaupt immediately came to the assistance of Mitau, but it was too late. The Russians had gone. He advanced and took up a position at Gemauerthof, a few miles to the south-west. Here, on July 26, Sheremétief attacked him, and was completely defeated. The Russian loss was great. The Russians themselves admitted 1,000 men killed, while the Swedes claimed that 6,000 corpses strewed the ground. The Swedes lost about 2,000 in killed and wounded. Charles, on hearing of the victory, said: 'Our Latin colonel does it very cleverly,' and at once promoted him to be lieutenant-general, and named him governor-general of Riga.

Peter, on hearing of this catastrophe, wrote to Sheremétief, saying that the fault lay in the bad discipline of the dragoons, of which he had often spoken, and ordered him to concentrate at Birze, to get all the information he could about the enemy's movements, and to punish severely the men who had been disobedient. Three days after, he wrote again: 'Do not be sad about the misfortune you have had, for constant success has brought many people to ruin. Forget it, and try to encourage your men.' After ordering him to cut Lewenhaupt off from Riga, he himself immediately set out with the Preobrazhénsky regiment and the division of Prince Repnin, in order to meet him and prevent any movement toward Poland. After his troops had arrived at Birze, he received intelligence, which at first he did not wish to believe, but of which he was subsequently convinced, that Lewenhaupt had crossed the Düna, after leaving a small garrison at Mitau, and was safe in Riga. 'We have here a great misfortune,' Peter wrote to Golovín, 'for Lewenhaupt disappears from us as Narcissus did from Echo.' Directing

Sheremétief to encamp on the left bank of the Düna, opposite to Riga, Peter attacked Mitau, which, after a short siege, and a ten-hours' bombardment, capitulated. The fortress of Bauske followed suit.

It was impossible to begin the siege of Riga. News had come of what at first appeared to be a formidable rebellion in Astrakhan, and Sheremétief with part of his force was sent to put it down. It was of far more importance to resist the advance of King Charles, who had now subjected Poland, than it was to take the strong places of Riga and Reval. Giving up, therefore, any attempt to hold Curland, Peter went to Grodno, which had been fixed upon for the winter quarters of the Russian army. Ogilvy, as the only field-marshal, now had the sole command. But the question of the proper site for winter quarters had caused a dispute between him and Menshikóf, which, although settled for the moment, subsequently broke out in a more violent form. Ogilvy preferred, for military considerations, Meretch, a strong position on the Nieman, about halfway between Grodno and Kowno. Menshikóf preferred Grodno. Menshikóf was nominally subordinate to Ogilvy, but on the basis of his confidential relations with the Tsar, and the knowledge he had of his plans and wishes, he sometimes took upon himself to interfere, in a way prejudicial to all good discipline, and only to be pardoned by the fact that he so frequently acted as the Tsar would in reality have acted himself. Among other things, he compelled the correspondence of Ogilvy with the Tsar to pass through his hands, fearing, as he says, 'lest by his pointless and impracticable letters, like the present, he would bring you into doubt.'

From Grodno Peter paid a visit to Tikóczin, about sixty miles to the south-west, where he inspected the Saxon troops under General Schulenburg—not 6,000 men—and the Lithuanian regiments of Prince Wisniowiecki, which were encamped near by. Here he was cheered by a visit from King Augustus, who, under an assumed name, had made a long circuitous journey through Hungary, and had passed a whole night in the midst of the Swedish troops of Rehnskjöld. Peter met his ally a few miles beyond Tikóczin, and spread on the road before him six banners of his rival, Stanislas, which had been captured in

the immediate vicinity of Warsaw by a bold foray of Colonel Gorbof. Augustus, on his part, had brought the ensigns of his new order of the White Eagle, which, in default of other honours and rewards, he had invented to encourage his partisans.[1]

Apprehending no danger that winter from the Swedes, Peter entrusted his army to King Augustus, and about the middle of December set out for Moscow.[2]

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[1] This Order, which had been originally founded by Vladislas IV., in 1325, and which was thus, after a long interval, renewed under Russian auspices, was, after the partition of Poland, adopted by Russia, and is now one of the most esteemed Russian decorations. As established by Augustus, the ensigns consisted of a gold medal, with the Polish eagle on one side and the legend, *Pro fide, rege, et lege*, and on the reverse A. R , the King's initials. It was worn on a blue ribbon. After 1713, the ensigns were changed to their present form.

[2] Soloviéf, xv. ; Ustriálof, IV. xv. ; Fryxell ii. ; Theiner; *Journal of Swedish War;* Guépin, *Saint Josaphat,* Poitiers, 1874.

XLIX.

GRODNO.—1706.

Charles, with all his army, remained inactive in his winter quarters at Rawicz until July. He was still occupied with watching Saxony, and in preparations for the coronation of Stanislas. The new King and his partisans wished to put off the ceremony until the country was entirely free from the adherents of Augustus, and no further danger was to be apprehended. Charles was too impatient for this. Besides maintaining the court of his *protégé* at his own expense, he paid for the new crown, sceptre, and regalia which were necessary for the coronation, for the old were in the possession of Augustus. Neither would he allow the ceremony to take place at Cracow, as custom required. That city was too far from the Swedish cantonments. It was arranged, therefore, that Stanislas should be crowned at Warsaw, under the protection of a Swedish force. General Paykull, with 4,000 Saxons and 600 Poles, advanced toward Warsaw, hoping to overpower the small Swedish force, but he was defeated, taken prisoner, and carried to Stockholm, where he was beheaded as a Livonian traitor. The Primate, Cardinal Radziejowski, by law and usage should have performed the ceremony of coronation, but he had been suspended by the Pope for the part which he had taken against Augustus, and Zielinski, the Archbishop of Lemberg, was persuaded to officiate at the ceremony, which took place on October 4, under Swedish management. The Swedish envoys occupied the places which had formerly been filled by Polish magnates. Even the medal struck to commemorate the coronation represented the Polish ship of State steered by the Gothic lion, and bearing on its banner the words 'Under so powerful a guidance.' The oppo-

THE COURT JESTER CROWNED KING OF SWEDEN.

site party also struck a medal—on one side the effigy of the new King, with the inscription, 'Stanislas, by God's grace King of Poland,' and on the reverse an actor in crown and robes, with the inscription, 'King as long as the comedy lasts.' Peter, in one of his merry moods, had his court-fool crowned as King of Sweden, with all sorts of laughable ceremonies.

When the coronation was over, the long-desired peace was at last concluded between Sweden and Poland. Charles demanded the restoration of Sapieha to all his rights and dignities, and special favours for the Protestant religion and for Swedish trade. No indemnity, however, was asked for the expenses of the war. In this Charles carried out the promise which he had made on entering the country, and this measure was received with great satisfaction in Poland, but not with equal pleasure in Sweden, which was rapidly becoming exhausted by the demands made upon it for men, money, and stores.

Although peace was made, yet there was in reality no peace. The greater portion of the country neither recognised its conditions nor the right of Stanislas to make it. The state of Poland was such that even the wife of the newly crowned King did not dare to remain in Poland, but went for security into Pomerania.

In previous years, the Swedish troops had always gone into winter quarters during the autumn, and military operations had been practically suspended during the winter. This year, however, Charles had remained inactive during the whole of the summer, and he now, late in December, 1705, was still encamped in the open fields at Blonnie, just north of Warsaw. The soldiers were not allowed to go to the villages and lodge in the peasants' huts, and the King himself fared no better. When the cold was too severe, he resorted to the old method of warming his tent by red-hot cannon-shot. His kitchen was so far away that his food frequently became entirely cold, and the spoons and forks were covered with frost on reaching the table. Suddenly, the very end of December, Charles broke up his camp and marched eastward, no one knew whither, although all supposed that he had at last resolved on recovering the Baltic provinces. It was soon seen that he was advancing toward Grodno.

The march of Charles was so rapid that in two weeks from leaving the Vistula he had arrived on the banks of the Nieman. The severe cold, which froze all the rivers, aided him. Charles arrived in sight of Grodno on January 24, 1706, bringing his artillery with him, but having left his baggage to follow. The next morning he crossed the Nieman, two miles below Grodno. The dragoons of General Rönne, who had just arrived from Pultúsk, attempted to hinder the passage, but they were so startled by the King with 600 grenadiers crossing the river on the ice in advance of the other troops, that they mounted their horses, and after a brief exchange of shots retired to Grodno. The Swedes advanced to the very walls of Grodno, made a prolonged reconnaissance, and finally, seeing the impossibility of carrying the town by storm, and without a long siege, retired, and went into camp a few miles off. Difficulty of provisioning the army rendered a still farther retreat necessary, and King Charles finally took up his quarters at Zhelúdok, on the Nieman, fifty miles above Grodno. Here he remained for two months.

The Russians were much surprised at the arrival of the Swedes. Although they knew that Charles had crossed the Vistula, they did not feel at all certain that Grodno was the object of his march, and Ogilvy had presented to King Augustus a plan for a campaign based on very different theories. Grodno stood in a strong position on the right bank of the Nieman, and the Russians had during the autumn of 1705 surrounded it with a new line of earthworks. The Russian troops at that time in the town amounted to nearly 40,000 men, the best that the country had yet had under arms. A council of war was called, presided over by King Augustus, to discuss whether they should march out and attack the Swedes, whether they should remain in Grodno and endure a siege, or whether they should retreat. There was, indeed, danger that the Swedes might cut them off from Russia, and they knew that they were not provisioned for a long siege. Ogilvy was strongly in favour of remaining. He urged the sacrifice of the artillery which would be necessitated by the retreat, the loss of life which would be caused by a march in the extreme cold weather, the abandonment of the garrison at Tikóczin, the certainty of pursuit

by the Swedes, which would result in making Russia the theatre of the war, and, above all, the ridicule and mockery to which he would be exposed for thus suddenly abandoning a strong place without what seemed to him sufficient reasons. It must be remembered that Ogilvy was not a Russian, that his service in the armies of various countries made him think more of war as an art than as a painful necessity. He would almost have preferred to be beaten according to the laws of war than to be victorious in spite of them. The majority of the council was strongly in favour of retreat, but King Augustus, fearing that he might be accused of causing, in this way, the invasion of Russia, resolved to take what he called a middle term, and presented the conclusions of the council to the Tsar, for his sole decision. Meanwhile, the army was to remain at Grodno; but Augustus himself, taking four regiments of dragoons, went hastily off to Warsaw, promising Ogilvy, however, that in three weeks' time he would return with a Saxon army, which was then advancing against the corps of Rehnskjöld, with the full expectation of beating it.

Peter had only just arrived at Moscow when he received news of the Swedish advance. He at first was disinclined to believe it, and wrote to Menshikóf to ask for certain intelligence. 'From whom did you receive it?' he said. 'And can it be believed? How many such reports there were in my time!' Ordering Menshikóf to send out parties of soldiers to guard the road by which he would travel, he promised to start at once. Meantime both Menshikóf and Ogilvy sent reassuring letters, first that the Swedes would probably not come to Grodno, and then that in any case they were entirely safe, and could resist all the winter, and that he need give himself no anxiety. On January 24, the same day that Charles arrived in sight of Grodno, Peter set out from Moscow, in spite of what he called 'the indescribable frost.' The day before, he had written that his right cheek was badly swollen, but that nevertheless he would set out, and hoped to be with the army in a week's time. 'I am mightily sorry to leave here, because I am occupied with collecting taxes, and with other necessary things for the operations on the Volga. Therefore I beg you, if there is any change, to send some one to me, so that I may not drag myself

along without reason (alas! I can scarcely do it); and if affairs do not change, I should like you to send me news every day, so that I can, if possible, hasten my journey.' The weather was such that Peter could not travel as fast as he had expected. It took him ten days to reach Smolénsk, and after staying there a day, and having no further news, he set out for Grodno. After proceeding sixty miles, he was met by Menshikóf, with the unwelcome intelligence that the Swedes had entirely surrounded Grodno, that it was impossible for him to get there, and that in all probability the place would be assaulted. Menshikóf had left the place on the approach of the Swedes, in consequence of the orders he had received from Peter to come and meet him on the road. This was at Dubróvna. The Tsar wrote to Ogilvy that if he had sure news of the approach of the Saxon army, and if he had provisions and forage to last for three months, to stay in Grodno; but if there were no certain intelligence that the Saxons were coming, not to trust to mere rumour, but to retreat to the Russian frontier by the shortest and easiest way, lest the enemy might cut him off by a movement on Wilna, in which case his staying in Grodno would be of no service. 'However, I leave all to your judgment, for it is impossible to give an order at the distance at which we are. While we write, your time is passing. What is best for safety and profit, that do with every caution. Do not forget the words of my comrade [Menshikóf], who on his departure urged you to look more to the safety of the troops than to anything else. Pay no regard to the heavy guns. If it is on account of them that retreat is difficult, burst them or throw them into the Nieman.'

Ogilvy in reply said that he could not retreat because the rivers were frozen, and the Swedes would come up to him with their cavalry; that the artillery could not be withdrawn, as there were no horses, and even the dragoons had no horseshoes; that in general the army was badly disorganised, and that he did not wish to sacrifice the Saxon army, which was already on its march. He had therefore resolved to stay there till summer, hoping either that the Swedes would go away, or that he would be joined by the Saxons. He added at the same time complaints against Menshikóf for having gone away and left him

in those straits, as well as for advising the commandant of Tikóczin to blow up that fort and retire, and repeated all the objections to the retreat which he had previously urged in the council of war. Then, as before and after, he complained of the impossibility of working harmoniously with the Russian officers, who refused to obey him, but reported to Menshikóf rather than to him. He was particularly severe against Rönne and Prince Repnin. He even ventured a suspicion that the suite of Menshikóf was in relations with the enemy. In subsequent despatches he made many demands for the exact payment of his salary, for reinforcements, especially recommending that 20,000 well-armed noblemen should be organised into troops on the Russian frontier, and asked for a train of several hundred *camels*.

Repnin had written that things were not so bad as they seemed, and that in all probability they could hold out successfully, but that they were very suspicious of their commander-in-chief, for he had been in constant correspondence with King Augustus, and the Russians did not know what it was all about. There were rumours that he intended to retreat toward Warsaw. To Repnin Peter replied that no movement toward Warsaw must be thought of; that it would be better, in any case, to retreat toward the Russian frontier, after throwing the heavy guns into the river; but that if they had sufficient provisions, and were certain that the Saxon army was approaching, they might hold out till spring. At the same time, he begged King Augustus to come with his troops to the assistance of Grodno, and to bring them a convoy of provisions. He replied also to the report of Ogilvy, saying that the dispersion of the cavalry was his own fault, as he had himself arranged the stations for their winter quarters. 'As to camels, you yourself know how many there are of them in Moscow. We have sent down the Volga for them, but they cannot come quickly, and such a number as you want cannot be found. As to placing 20,000 good and well-armed noblemen on the frontier, it is very astonishing that you propose such an unheard-of affair. Where is that number of noblemen to be taken from? In very truth, it is easy to write and to order, and to do nothing yourself.' Promising to do what he could, he ordered Mazeppa

and his Cossacks to advance through Volynia toward Minsk, with provisions and forage, and made arrangements for their reception at Brzesc. At the same time, Peter took up the idea of protecting the western frontier of Russia by means of walls and ditches, and cutting down trees through the forest region from Pskof to Briansk, and farther into the steppe. Cyril Naryshkin, the commandant of Dorpat, and the engineer Kortchmin, now a captain of the guard, were entrusted with this, and after two months of hard work had gone far toward the fulfilment of his orders.

At Grodno there were two difficulties. Forage and provisions were rapidly giving out, and the letters and orders of Peter could not be read. They were all written in cipher, and Rönne had lost the key. Meanwhile the Saxon army, so impatiently expected at Grodno, had been defeated at Fraustadt, on the Silesian frontier, by Rehnskjöld. Prussian Jews first brought the intelligence, but no one wished to believe it.

Peter was angry and disappointed, and that made him unjust. He wrote to Golovín:

'Herr Admiral: Before this I wrote to you of an unwished-for catastrophe, which I had heard from outsiders. Now, we have full information that all the Saxon army has been beaten by Rehnskjöld, and has lost all its artillery. The treachery and cowardice of the Saxons are now plain—30,000 men beaten by 8,000! The cavalry, without firing a single round, ran away; more than half of the infantry, throwing down their muskets, disappeared, leaving our men alone, not half of whom, I think, are now alive. God knows what grief this news has brought us, and by giving money we have only bought ourselves misfortune. In this occurrence the treachery of Patkul will be plain, for I really think that he was taken prisoner only that no one might know about his treacherous conduct. The above-mentioned calamity, as well as the betrayal of the King by his own subjects, you can tell everybody (but put it much more mildly), for it cannot remain a secret. Still, tell it in detail to very few.'

As soon as he had full details of the defeat at Fraustadt, Peter wrote to Ogilvy, ordering him to begin his retreat at the

earliest possible date, although he thought it would be better to take advantage of the breaking up of the ice on the river, which would hinder the Swedes from crossing and following him. He recommended him to take with him nothing except the three-pounders, and to throw all the rest of the artillery into the Nieman, and to conceal or destroy all munitions that he could not carry with him. He advised him to retreat toward Slutsk, which was a strong place, and where he would be met by the Cossacks, and could make good his march toward Kief, for it was impossible to go either toward Wilna or Kowno. He bade him at the same time keep his preparations secret. Two days afterward, he repeated the same instructions. Ogilvy, in reply, said that he would obey the orders and retreat toward Brzesc. At the same time, he thought it would be better to remain there the whole summer. 'Don't think of remaining in Grodno till summer,' answered Peter, 'for the enemy, after resting and getting growing forage, will not easily leave you, while, on the contrary, their numbers will be increased by the corps of Rehnskjöld.' After thus giving Ogilvy orders too strict to be disobeyed, and sending Prince Basil Dolgorúky to King Augustus, at Cracow, to explain the reasons of the retreat, Peter left Minsk, where he had been during a month, for St. Petersburg, giving the command of the troops collected there to Menshikóf.

At Toropétz he celebrated the name's-day of his son, the Tsarévitch Alexis, and passed Easter at Narva. 'To-day,' he wrote to Menshikóf, 'after morning service, we went to your house and broke our fast, and at the end of the day finished our merriment there. In verity, praise be to God, we were merry, but our merriment without you, or away from you, is like food without salt.' This letter was signed first by Menshikóf's sister, and then by the 'Proto-Diacon' Peter, and all his companions, including even the servants.

On that very day, April 4, the Russian troops began their retreat from Grodno. Three days afterward they were joined by Menshikóf. After taking up the garrison at Tikóczin, they reached Brzesc on April 15, Kovel on the 24th, and Kief on May 19. Between Grodno and Kief the country was entirely covered by forests and morasses, formed by the river Prípet

and its tributaries. It was difficult, if not impossible, for the army to take the route recommended by Peter, toward Slutsk, for Charles and his troops barred the way. The only available road was that by the way of Brzesc, but it was going around half the circumference of a circle. Charles, who was attentively watching the movements of the Russians, and ready to attack them the moment they left their fortified camp, had occupied Wilna on the one side, and had prepared a bridge at Orle, five miles above Zhelúdok, in order to attack them if they retreated into Volynia. His calculations were disturbed by the breaking up of the ice on the Nieman, which carried away his bridge, and for a week he could not move. At last his bridge was repaired, and he started in pursuit, but too late, for the Russians were already at Brzesc. Thinking to cut off their retreat, he advanced directly southward on the diameter of the circle, and the first day marched quickly over twenty-five miles. 'It is impossible to describe,' says the eye-witness, Adlerfeld, 'how men and horses suffered in this march. The country was covered with marshes, the spring had thawed out the ground, the cavalry could scarcely move, the waggon-train got so deep in the mud that it was impossible to advance, the King's carriage remained in the mire, while, as to provisions, we fared so badly that every one was happy who, in that desolate country, could pull a piece of dry bread out of his pocket.' As the Swedes advanced into the forest region called Polésie, it was still worse. At last Charles saw the impossibility of catching up with the Russian army, and remained for two whole months in this swampy region, in the district of Pinsk, destroying the towns and villages, which were inhabited either by the partisans of Augustus or by the Little Russian Cossacks. Finally, after devastating the whole country, he turned into Volynia, gave his troops three weeks' rest, and, leaving Lutsk in the middle of July, returned to Saxony.

To one of his reports about the retreat, Menshikóf added the postscript: 'I do not doubt that you will be very desirous to come to us; therefore, when you start, I beg you order our ladies to go to Smolénsk. Our route lies toward Kíef, whence, if the enemy does not follow us, we will advance to Býkhof, so as to take up our quarters between Kíef and Smolénsk.'

'*Mein Bruder*,' replied Peter to Menshikóf, from St. Petersburg, on May 10, 'it was with indescribable joy that I received the old man with letters when I was at Kronslot on the vice-admiral's ship "Elephant," and immediately, in thanks to God, we had a triple salute from the ships and the fort. God grant in joy to see you and the whole army again. And how glad, and then how noisy we were on account of it, the old man himself will tell. . . . . For the good news that he brought us we gave him the rank of ensign, and I beg you to confirm it to him. To tell the truth, we were all glad to hear of these things, for, although we live in paradise, still we always had a pain in our hearts. Here, praise be to God, all is well, and there is nothing new of any sort. We shall start from here next month. Don't doubt about my coming. If God send no obstacle, I shall certainly start at the end of this month. Earlier than that it is impossible, alas! not because I am amusing myself, but the doctors have ordered me to keep still and take medicine for two weeks, after bleeding me, which they began yesterday. Immediately after that I shall come, for you yourself have seen in what state I was when we were separated from the army.'

Peter, however, did not start before the middle of June, and arrived at Kíef about the middle of July, having been met at Smolénsk by Menshikóf. Here he waited for six weeks, still expecting a Swedish invasion of Russia. As some protection against that, he set about building a new fortress around the great Petchérskaya Lávra of Kíef, as Menshikóf had suggested. The fortifications of what was called Old Kíef, standing on the low range above the still more modern town on the very bank of the Dnieper, were then abandoned, and left to fall in ruins. The fortified monastery still crowns the summit of the hill, commanding a distant and lovely view over the winding river and the broad plains to the east of it.

The difficulties between Menshikóf and Ogilvy had been of late constantly increasing. Menshikóf had not forwarded to the Tsar Ogilvy's reports written during the retreat, on the pretext that there was nothing in them that Peter could not learn from his own letters, and on several occasions Menshikóf had interfered with Ogilvy's orders, and in Kíef, without the field-marshal's

knowledge, had had a salute fired for the victory over the rebels of Astrakhan. As Menshikóf himself wrote: 'This caused us a little *contra* with the field-marshal. Still, after that he came to church where we were, stood a long time silent, but treated us in a very friendly and politic way, and said nothing about it.' Both from Kovel and Lutsk, Ogilvy had written asking, on account of ill-health, to be relieved from service, and allowed to leave Russia. In numerous letters he had complained of the meddling of Menshikóf, and had asked for strict instructions as to who was to be the commander-in-chief, as he did not wish to be saddled with the responsibility for the acts of others. 'The general of the cavalry, without my knowledge, in the name of Your Majesty, ordered the whole army to go to Bykhof, and took on himself the air of commander-in-chief. He has about him a guard of infantry and cavalry with waving banners, and makes no account of me. Since then I have learned that, by his orders, Major Holland robbed a merchant from Breslau whom I had entrusted with taking to my sister-in-law various things which I had bought at Kief, as though they had been wrongly obtained. Loving my honour more than my life, I beg and demand satisfaction. Long as I have been at war, nowhere and never have people treated me so badly as here.' King Augustus interfered in favour of Ogilvy, and wrote to Menshikóf: 'Notwithstanding all his bad acts, we must let him go kindly and with politeness, and even with presents, so that he should not speak ill of the Tsar and of Your Highness. For presents he is very greedy, and is ready to sell his soul for them.' There were probably wrongs and misunderstandings on both sides. Ogilvy, while appreciating certain qualities of the Russians, neither understood them nor had confidence in them. The Russian officers found it difficult to obey a foreigner whose orders they did not understand, and of whom, from the simple fact of his being a foreigner, they were suspicious. Menshikóf, feeling himself to be the personal representative of the Tsar, certainly interfered in many ways with Ogilvy's plans and orders, and his conduct was always either condoned or approved by his master. The simplest way, therefore, of settling the difficulty was to accept Ogilvy's resignation, and in October his formal papers were given to him,

and his salary was paid in full. He seemed contented, and went away to Saxony, where he entered the service of King Augustus with the rank of field-marshal, and died four years later at Danzig. He was solemnly interred at Warsaw.

It now being ascertained that the Swedish troops had marched toward Saxony, Peter left Kief and returned to St. Petersburg.[1]

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[1] Sjögren, *Paykull;* Fryxell, i.; Lundblad, i.; Sarauw: Soloviéf, xv.; Ustriálof, IV. ch. xvii.; *Journal of Swedish War;* Gólikof.

L.

AUGUSTUS AT LAST RESIGNS THE POLISH CROWN.—1706.

Even in 1702 the French had suggested to Charles the possibility of compelling the abdication of Augustus by an invasion of Saxony, and there had been hints that even Saxony should be taken away from him. There were many Swedes who wished this with all their hearts, as they thought that thus an end would sooner be put to the war. When Charles was encamped so long at Rawicz, on the Silesian frontier, there was much talk on the subject, and many hoped that what they wished would now be done.

But as England, Holland, and Austria all protested against a step so fraught with danger to them, Charles resolved to banish all thoughts of it from his mind, and carefully avoid any further entanglement in the general policy of Europe. But he saw that although Stanislas was crowned, he was kept in place by Swedish arms only. Wherever the Swedish soldiers were, the country was for Stanislas; the moment they were withdrawn, the country was against Stanislas. While in Volynia, Piper, who had up to that time been against an invasion of Saxony, communicated to the King the news of the French defeat at Ramillies, which made him very anxious, for he saw that the successes gained by the allies had encouraged the partisans of Augustus, and he feared lest the war of dethronement in Poland might last many years yet. He therefore suggested to the King that after all he might be compelled to invade Saxony, for otherwise it would be impossible to bring Augustus to an abdication. Charles at once became thoughtful, turned it over in his mind, called a council of war, and after listening patiently to the arguments of both sides, said that he

had decided on the invasion. Leaving General Marderfelt, with 6,000 Swedes and about double the number of Poles, to keep order in Poland, Charles, with his main army, having taken

Augustus II., King of Poland.

about six weeks to traverse the kingdom, crossed the Silesian frontier near Herrnstadt at the end of August, 1706.

It was necessary to pass through Austrian dominions in order to reach Saxony, but Charles asked no consent of the Emperor. Augustus had several times broken the Austrian neutrality in a similar way, and why should Charles hesitate?

Nevertheless he kept his troops in good order, marched as rapidly as possible, and reached the Saxon frontier five days after he had crossed the Oder. After swimming over the Oder at the head of his cavalry, he had indeed been received by deputations of Silesian Protestants, who complained to him of the persecution they endured at the hands of their sovereign, and he had been rash enough to promise them redress.

The Swedish invasion produced great alarm in Saxony. Every one knew the tradition of the 'Kuhstall,' and had heard of the Swedish plunderings and devastations during the Thirty Years' War. The alarm bells were still called the Swedish bells, and naughty children were awed with the 'Swede-song.' The royal family made haste to leave Dresden. The wife of Augustus, Queen Christina Eberhardina, fled to her father, the Margrave of Baireuth. Her son, the future Augustus III., then ten years old, took refuge with his uncle, the King of Denmark. The King's mother, the widowed Electress Anna Sophia, the own cousin of Charles, went to Hamburg. The jewels and State papers were sent to the fortress of Königstein, where the Sobieski princes were also confined, and many families took refuge in Brandenburg and the neighbouring German towns. We have seen that two years before this Augustus had already had enough of the war, and had serious thoughts of giving it up. The sudden invasion of Saxony, the news of which he received while in camp at Novogrudka, made him still more desirous of peace, and ready to do almost anything to secure it. Several of his predecessors had resigned the thorny Polish crown. Could he not follow their example? Poland had done almost nothing for him, and Saxony, his hereditary State, had made heavy sacrifices in his interest, not its own. It had given over 36,000 troops, over 800 cannon, and over 8,000,000 livres to keep him on the Polish throne. Weary of the struggle, and compassionate toward his own Saxons, from whom he could neither ask nor expect more, Augustus readily yielded to the suggestion of his mistress, the Countess Kozelska, and secretly sent the Cameral President, Baron von Imhoff, and the Referendary Pfingsten to the Swedish army with proposals of peace. The plenipotentiaries at first tried to persuade Piper to abate somewhat the demands of his master. They promised

that Stanislas should be declared the heir of the Polish throne, and meanwhile receive a considerable appanage. They then proposed to give Lithuania to Stanislas, and leave Poland to Augustus; but Charles was inexorable. To the suggestion that he should receive some extension to the Swedish possessions around Bremen, he answered, '*Memini me esse Alexandrum non mercatorem*,' and dictated the following conditions: That Augustus should for ever give up the Polish crown, recognise Stanislas as King of Poland, and never think of reigning again even in case of Stanislas's death; that he should refuse all alliances with other Powers in this matter, and especially with Russia; that the two princes Sobieski should be set at liberty; that all Swedish-born subjects who were in the Saxon army, especially Patkul, should be delivered up, while an amnesty should be given to all Saxon subjects in the Swedish service. The Saxon plenipotentiaries thought these conditions too hard, but were told that if they yielded to them they could probably obtain some moderation afterward by appealing to the generosity of King Charles. They therefore finally consented to sign them, with some variations, for it was agreed that Augustus should retain the title of 'King,' although not 'King of Poland;' that he should never make an offensive alliance against Sweden or Poland; that he should give up the Polish regalia and State papers; and that the Emperor, England, and Holland should be invited to become guarantees for the fulfilment of these conditions, if possible, within six months. During that time the Swedish army would have its winter quarters in Saxony, at the expense of the Saxon Government. Nothing was stipulated in favour of Sweden, at which the Swedes were naturally indignant, saying: 'We are always winning battles, but we get nothing by them.' These conditions were signed by the Saxon plenipotentiaries at the Château of Altranstädt,[1] on October 24, 1706, and the next day Charles declared a truce of ten weeks. Pfingsten and Imhoff returned to Poland, and met King Augustus at Piotrkow, where he was the guest of Menshikóf at the Russian headquarters.

Augustus had met Menshikóf at Lublin. He reviewed the

[1] Or Alt Ranstadt, as it is also spelled by some authorities.

Russian troops, seemed well pleased with them, and was very merry. Privately, to Menshikóf, he complained of his great want of money, and said that he was so poor that he had nothing to eat. Menshikóf, seeing his straits, gave him 10,000 ducats of his own. In reporting this to Peter, Menshikóf urged that something should be done for the King, as there could be no hope from Saxony, where Charles was collecting 170,000 ducats a month. Peter, who, though ignorant of what was occurring in Saxony, was by this time somewhat disgusted with his ally, replied: 'You know very well that one always hears from the King, "Give, give! Money, money!" and you also know how little money we have; however, if the King is always to be in this evil plight, I think it would be best to give him strong hopes of being satisfied on my arrival, and I shall try to come by the quickest route.'

Augustus, the Dissembler and the Unsteady, was very anxious, so long as he was with the Russian army, to keep the secret of his agreement with the Swedes, and was in a great quandary, for Menshikóf was advancing to crush Marderfelt, and he could devise no pretext for leaving him. He therefore begged Pfingsten, on his way back to Saxony, to see Marderfelt, to tell him that arrangements of peace had been concluded, and to urge him to retreat and refuse a fight, in order to avoid bloodshed. Pfingsten, fearing either detention or suspicion of his mission, did not take that route, and sent Marderfelt the letter of Augustus, which did not reach him in time. Augustus, in addition, found the pretext of an exchange of prisoners to send word to Marderfelt and tell him the state of affairs. The Swedish general refused to believe such a statement, coming from his enemy, and a subsequent message of Augustus to the same purpose was likewise treated with contempt. Both Swedes and Poles desired a fight.

A battle finally took place at Kalisz, on October 29, and after a three-hours' conflict the Swedes were thoroughly beaten, losing about 3,000 men. The remainder surrendered the next day. This was the first great battle in which the Russians had met the Swedes in the open field and had been victorious. Menshikóf had had his revenge on Ogilvy.

Augustus could repair what had been done in one way only.

On the ground that he had been personally present in the battle, he demanded the disposition of the Swedish prisoners, promising to exchange them within three months for the Russian officers imprisoned at Stockholm, or to return them to the Russians. Menshikóf yielded to the threat of a rupture with Russia, and once Augustus had the prisoners in his hands, he sent them to Pomerania on their parole. He himself went to Warsaw, where he assisted at the solemn Te Deum for the victory of Kalisz, issued a universal forbidding the Poles, under pain of fire and sword, to assist the Swedes, and at the same time wrote Charles a letter of excuses and regrets for the battle. A week after his arrival at Warsaw, Augustus declared to Prince Basil Dolgorúky, the Tsar's commissioner, that he could not leave Saxony to be ruined, and that he saw no other means of saving it than by concluding a peace with the King of Sweden and giving up Poland, but that this would be only a subterfuge, and as soon as he had got rid of the Swedes he would raise an army and act as before, in common with the Tsar. By doing this he had no intention of giving up the Polish crown, or of abandoning his alliance with Russia. Dolgorúky urged him not to take this course, but rather to wait until the Tsar arrived, and see what he could devise. Augustus said this was impossible; the Saxon troops were in such straits that he could not wait for that; but that if he could think of another plan he would adopt it. At the same time, the Vice-Chancellor, in the King's name, asked Prince Dolgorúky for an obligation that the Tsar would pay 150,000 ducats in the course of six weeks, which Dolgorúky promised to arrange. The next day, November 30, after ordering his Court to go to Cracow, Augustus left Warsaw secretly in the early dawn for Saxony, where he had a personal interview with Charles, and confirmed the treaty of Altranstädt. At the pressing request of Charles, he even wrote to Stanislas, congratulating him upon his accession.[1]

[1] Fryxell, i.; Lundblad, I.; Sarauw; Ustriálof, IV. xix; Soloviéf, xv. Herrmann, iv.

LI.

PATKUL.

We have seen that the surrender of Patkul was one of the conditions of the peace of Altranstädt. The political career of this unhappy man is inseparably connected with the war between Charles and Peter.

We have already spoken of the way in which Patkul was identified with the early history of the war, the share he had in bringing it about, and in forming the alliance between Augustus and Peter. In the battle on the Düna he was severely wounded, and was taken to Mitau. Six weeks later, in September, 1701, Prince Gregory Dolgorúky, the Russian envoy at Warsaw, wrote to the Tsar: 'Patkul has hardly got well from his wound, but he has been to see me, and said that he does not intend to serve any longer in Poland, on account of the way in which the King has treated his allies; that for a time he will live in Breslau and look about to find some place to serve.' Peter, who, like all Patkul's contemporaries, had a great opinion of his abilities, immediately invited him to enter his service. This opportune offer was taken into consideration, and Patkul started for Moscow, where he arrived in Passion Week, in 1702. The Tsar received him kindly, consulted with him on several occasions, and renewed his offers, which were ultimately accepted by Patkul, who then received the rank of privy councillor, and was subsequently appointed a lieutenant-general. There exists in the archives at Moscow a curious document of this period, written by Patkul in German, in which he sets forth in detail his acquirements, experience, and qualifications, disclaiming all knowledge of marine affairs, and any special acquaintance with artillery or cavalry, but asserting his

thorough competence in all relating to the infantry, to engineering, mathematics, architecture, and the construction of fortresses. During the three weeks which Patkul remained in Moscow, he had many interviews and conversations with the Tsar and with Golovín on the subject of procuring foreign officers for the army, and generally with regard to inviting foreigners to take service in Russia. The famous manifesto of April 27, 1702, inviting foreigners to settle in Russia, was issued on the advice of Patkul, and was submitted to him for approbation. On the same day, the Tsar commissioned him to enter into various negotiations with the King of Poland, and to engage at his discretion foreigners for the Russian service, fixed his salary at 1,000 *reichsthalers* a month, presented him with an estate of 400 families of serfs, and his portrait set in diamonds, valued at 3,000 rubles.

A few days after the departure of the Tsar for Archangel, a curious honour was paid to Patkul. All the Swedish prisoners were collected on the great square of the Krémlin, and there, in their midst, the executioner publicly burned all the pamphlets and accusations which had been printed in Stockholm against Patkul. This was in reply to a similar action on the part of the Swedish Government, which, four months before, had burned in Stockholm various pamphlets published in Patkul's defence.

From that time on, Patkul was active in the Tsar's service, first in Vienna, negotiating with Kaunitz, and engaging such men as Ogilvy, Rönne, and Huyssen to enter the Russian service; then in the Ukraine, negotiating with Mazeppa and Palei, and hoping to arrange the border disputes between Poland and Russia; then at the foundation of St. Petersburg, high in the favour and confidence of the Tsar; and then in Saxony, in command of the auxiliary troops, and planning, plotting, and countermining, both at Dresden and at Berlin. He was ever on the alert, ever active, ever ready with word and pen wherever there seemed to him a point to be gained or an opportunity to be used. He advised and criticised Matvéief at the Hague, he disputed with Dolgorúky at Warsaw, he directed Huyssen in his literary campaign to influence public opinion throughout Europe, he carefully watched the manœuvres of the

Court of Berlin, and he gave personal counsels to King Augustus.

Yet Patkul did not fulfil the expectations of Peter. His incessant activity, his laborious intrigues, his careful reports led to no practical result. The great object of his life was, as we know, to forward the interests and preserve the privileges of the Livonian nobility. It was for this that he did his best to bring about the war. It was for this that he took service first with Poland and then with Russia. It was therefore natural that he should strain all his influence with the Tsar to induce him to leave the Baltic provinces, to unite his forces with those of Augustus, and to attack Charles. His conduct was loyal, but his personal views in this, as in other things, conflicted with those of his new master. He was not a Russian, and, like many well-educated foreigners, looked on the Russians with contempt. The Tsar, in employing foreigners, intended them to be teachers and instructors, and to serve as examples to the Russians. He was willing to put up with an occasional mistake or error, if his subjects gradually improved. Patkul's plan was to officer the whole army with foreigners, leaving each general free to choose his subordinates. In the same way, as he had a contempt for Russian diplomatists, with their inexperience, their ignorance of languages, and their lack of knowledge of society, he desired to make himself a sort of general diplomatic representative of the Tsar abroad, residing at Dresden or the Hague—with a number of secretaries, residents, and *chargés d'affaires* under his direction. He finally succeeded in persuading Peter to adopt his plan in part, and the Germans whom he recommended—Urbich, Neuhausen, and Von der Lieth—were appointed residents in Vienna, Copenhagen, and Berlin; but while they furnished the Russian Government with valuable and interesting reports, they were not placed under the supreme control of Patkul. As a diplomatist, Patkul did not show himself worthy of his reputation. He had no knowledge of the general interests of Russia, no sympathy with the Russians. He took no broad views of any subject. The whole aim of his diplomacy seemed to be to obtain temporary and even trifling successes on minor points, and to gain advantages in quibbling and word-twisting. His impetuous temper and

his prejudices made it difficult always to trust what he said. As Dolgorúky once said to Golovín: 'I think you now know Patkul. One must carefully examine not only his words but even the letters in them. If he writes when he is in ill-humour, he will not even give praise to God himself.'

With his temper, his belief in his own powers, and his constant interference, Patkul made himself more enemies than friends. He quarrelled with Golítsyn at Vienna, and with Matvéief at the Hague; Dolgorúky at Warsaw refused to be in communication with him; the officers of the Russian troops in Saxony hated him; and, worst of all, he set the Saxon ministry against him. Even King Augustus complained to Dolgorúky that Patkul was bringing about misunderstandings between him and the Tsar by his personal malice, and bitterly said: 'I know Patkul well, and his Tsarish Majesty will soon learn also that Patkul abandoned the service of his own master only for his own plans and profit.'

In consequence of the Treaty of October, 1703, eleven Russian regiments, with an auxiliary force of Cossacks, made their appearance at the head-quarters of King Augustus in the summer of 1704. The Cossacks were under the command of Daniel Apostol, and the Russians under that of Prince Dimitri Golítsyn, who had distinguished himself diplomatically at Constantinople, but who had no knowledge of war, or of the management of troops. They had taken two months to march from Kief to Sokal, on the Western Bug, and so great had been the hardships of the march that the Russians had been reduced in number from over 9,000 to under 7,000 fit for service, and of the 6,000 Cossacks only 3,000 appeared. They were badly armed and badly clothed. 'The men,' wrote Patkul, who had the command of this auxiliary detachment, 'are so good that nothing better can be desired. They show perfect obedience, and willingly do all that they are ordered. But it is impossible to do anything with the officers, and therefore the men govern themselves.' The officers, he advised, should be immediately replaced by Germans. Patkul became at once involved in trouble with Prince Golítsyn, whom alone the officers were willing to obey, and complained of the harm that Golítsyn was causing the troops by his stupid commissariat arrangements, and his incon-

sistency. 'At one time he takes on himself the furnishing of all the provisions, at another he suddenly gives this over to the royal commissariat. At one time he wants his soldiers to bake bread for themselves, at another he suddenly makes a demand for baked bread, and insists that it be furnished in the twinkling of an eye.' Words were scarcely strong enough to express his opinion of the character, the cowardice, and the want of discipline of the Cossacks. It must be admitted that the Russian and Cossack officers retaliated in like wise.

With nine of the Russian battalions, Patkul undertook the siege of Posen, but, after waiting a month before the city for reinforcements and making a breach in the walls, he was obliged by the order of the King to give up the siege on the very day fixed for its storm, and retire into Saxony. He was joined by the remnants of four other regiments which, under the command of General Görtz, had been cut to pieces by the Swedes near Fraustadt,[1] and was given quarters near Guben, in Lower Lusatia. Here they suffered great distress. All the resources of the province had been previously exhausted by the Saxon troops, and Russian money was at such a discount that the inhabitants were unwilling to receive it, and the Saxon officials refused to give forage and provisions. The artillery was reduced to such a state as to be utterly useless. The men had tattered uniforms and no shoes, and excited the sympathy of the German officers who, out of curiosity, came to look at them. Golitsyn, in reporting the bad condition of his men, threw constant blame upon Patkul. Patkul, at the same time, in writing to Golovín, said that their state was a shame to the Tsar. They had received no pay for a long time, and if matters went on in this way, it would be necessary for them to die on the spot, or to run away, become marauders, and fill the gallows and wheels. He, in his turn, threw blame on Golitsyn, whom he accused of neglect and indifference. For the men themselves he had the highest praise, mentioned with surprise that during the whole campaign no soldier had rendered himself liable to capital punishment, and even began to think that something could be made out of the Russian officers. They at all events knew what

[1] See pages 25 and 40.

obedience meant. Finally, he raised large sums of money on his own personal credit, reclothed the troops, supplied them with provisions, and in eight months' time their appearance was so altered that the Saxons themselves admitted that they were, in general, superior to any body of German soldiers. Still no money came from Russia, and the credit of Patkul could not last for ever. Again he wrote despatch after despatch on the condition of the troops, accusing the Saxon ministers of acting contrary to the orders of the King in not giving provisions, and in not furnishing better quarters. He proposed to the Tsar that as it was impossible for the troops to return to Russia through Poland, which was occupied by the Swedes, an arrangement might be made with the Emperor by which they should enter the Austrian service. Peter consented to this on the condition that it should be done only in case of extreme necessity, and that they should not serve for more than one campaign. To clear himself of all responsibility in the decision of this matter, Patkul called a council of war, and placed before the Russian officers five questions, as to the possibility of returning to Russia either through Prussia or Austria without cavalry, as to the method of obtaining provisions, and as to the safest route. At a second council, he asked whether the present quarters were possible for another winter, and whether the troops had provisions and money, stating at the same time that, in case of the impossibility of marching through Poland, the Tsar would place them in the service of another state. The unanimous reply was that it was impossible to stay there or go through Poland, and that they were ready to serve wherever the Tsar ordered. With this Patkul proceeded to Dresden, and made a treaty with Count Stratmann, the imperial envoy, by which the troops were to be taken into the imperial service for a year, on advantageous conditions. Several secret articles provided guarantees for Saxony and for Augustus.

Patkul had long been obnoxious to the Saxon ministers. He had exposed their double dealing, and had been unsparing in his denunciations of them, both in his official reports and in his private letters to his friends. He had criticised the acts and policy of Augustus in his despatches to the Tsar, for which he had been called to account by the King himself, and shortly

before, when on a special mission to Berlin, had discussed at length their conduct of affairs in Saxony. He thought he had discovered that the chief reason of the vacillation of the Court of Prussia was want of faith in Augustus, and had defended that monarch at the expense of his ministers, and had promised that the Tsar would do his best to have them removed. If Patkul really saw no more into the motives which guided Prussian policy at that time than his despatches show, he was short-sighted; if he did, he allowed his feelings of hostility and revenge to get the better of his judgment. However that may be, what he had told and done came back to Dresden, and made his enemies still more bitter. Even the marriage that he was on the point of contracting with Madame von Einsiedel, the rich widow of a Saxon magnate, and lady of honour to the Electress Dowager, was made an accusation against him.[1] The opportunity offered for revenge was too good to be missed. The Saxon ministry, although they had received notice of every stage of the negotiations from Patkul himself, affected surprise and horror at this injury to the King's interests, this insult to his dignity, and on the proposition of General Schulenburg, Patkul's bitterest enemy, arrested him at night in his own house, on his return from his betrothal, and conveyed him to the castle of Sonnenstein, near Pirna. His letters and papers were all seized, and for a long time he was allowed no communication with any one. Even Dannitz, who had been sent by Augustus with a verbal message from the Tsar, was not permitted to see him alone. The arrest of a foreign minister in the discharge of his functions created a great sensation, not only in Dresden, but everywhere on the Continent. The Danish, Prussian, and Austrian envoys protested, and some of them withdrew from the capital, on the ground that they were no longer safe. Prince Golítsyn, in command of the troops, although personally hostile to Patkul, also wrote a strong protest, and demanded his immediate release, putting it on the ground of the great loss to which the Tsar would be exposed by the protest of all the bills of exchange of Patkul, who had sole

[1] He had bought an estate in Switzerland, where he intended to pass the rest of his days, having resolved to retire from the annoyances of his political life.

charge of the finances of the troops. The Saxon ministers alleged in excuse that they had arrested Patkul, not as a foreign minister, but as a military officer under the command of the field-marshal, to prevent him from committing an act of treason against the King by the transfer of the troops. Augustus appeared personally well disposed, and accused Patkul of nothing more than of his violent temper, saying: 'It is always a pity that the man is so fearfully vehement. He has uncommon understanding, great *capacité*, and is extremely good for all sorts of affairs; but when he becomes wild, there is nothing to be done with him.' But he refused to interfere with the acts of his ministers, and Szembek was sent to the Tsar at Grodno, with a long and laboured explanation and defence of the act, and with many complaints of Patkul's quarrelsome disposition, but with no other grave accusation. Peter, although he maintained that Patkul should have waited for another order before concluding that the extreme necessity had arrived for turning the troops over to Austria, yet demanded that the prisoner should be immediately sent to him, with all his papers untouched; insisted that his envoy was responsible to him alone, and promised to make a close investigation into the whole affair. There were excuses and delays. The Swedes were then at Grodno, and the Saxon ministers knew that Peter would be obliged to content himself with protests. And so it was. The numerous demands of the Tsar were not complied with, and Patkul remained a prisoner, first at Sonnenstein, and then at Königstein.

It was indeed difficult for the Tsar to do anything in the matter, except to protest and to ask the aid of foreign powers, as he did without effect. He was already at war with Charles, and if this had brought about a breach between him and Augustus, the Saxons would have been only too pleased, as it would have led to the conclusion of peace with Sweden. Under such circumstances, there is no penalty for a breach of international law. It is judged only before the tribunals of conscience, of public opinion, and of history. Charles was too much taken up with what the verdict of history would be on his other exploits to think of what might be said of his treatment of Patkul, and Augustus was already hardened to breaches of international law. Had he not broken the neutrality of Austria? Had he

not seized the princes Sobieski without harm to himself? Had he not arrested the French minister, the Marquis du Heron, for correspondence with Charles, imprisoned him, and sent him out of the country, and yet Louis XIV. had not stirred a finger? Nevertheless, it is but fair to say that Augustus did show some twinges of conscience with regard to the surrender of Patkul. He hesitated and delayed a long time about performing this article of the treaty, and did so at last only under great pressure. It is reported that even then he sent word privately to the commander of Königstein to allow Patkul to escape, and that the flight of the prisoner was only prevented by the avarice of the commandant, who, knowing that Patkul was rich, insisted on a heavy bribe, and that the time for escape was spent in discussion of the amount. The truth of this story has been doubted by later historians; at all events it is characteristic of Augustus.

Patkul was finally delivered to General Meyerfeld on April 18, 1707, and, on October 10, he was executed at Kasimierz, not far from Posen. His courage gave way when he saw the wheel, and he almost fainted. The executioner, a peasant from the neighbourhood, gave him fourteen or fifteen blows on the back, during which he screamed and groaned greatly, and called on God and Christ. After receiving two blows on the breast he cried out no longer, but merely murmured, 'Take my head off,' crawled along the scaffold, and laid his head upon the block. The inexperienced executioner gave him four blows before he severed his neck. The body was then exposed on the wheel.

Three years afterwards, when Augustus was again on his throne, he sent some officers to Kasimierz to find the body of Patkul, and to erect a monument over it. But no traces of it could then be found.

The contract between Patkul and Stratmann for the delivery of the troops to the Emperor was not carried out, but they were nevertheless not surrendered to the Swedes on the arrival of Charles. They succeeded in marching back to Russia through Silesia.[1]

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[1] Soloviéf, xv.; Ustriálof, IV. vi. xvi.; Wernich, *Patkul;* Sjögren, *Patkul;* Bernouilli, *Patkul's Berichte*, Berlin, 1792-7; Hagen, *Nachricht von der Hinrichtung J. R. v. Patkul*, Göttingen, 1783; Ustriálof, *Death of Patkul* in *Russian Messenger* (Russian) 1867; Herrmann, *Geschichte des Russischen Staates*, iv.

LII.

A YEAR OF DIPLOMACY.—1707.

The year 1707 was chiefly given up to diplomacy. Of such diplomacy there were two centres: one in Poland, where Peter as yet was weaving plots, and sending his agents to every Court of Europe to obtain peace, to get allies, or to embroil his rival in future quarrels; the other in Saxony, where princes and ambassadors were thronging for a sight of the victorious Charles, and were suing for his friendship, or endeavouring to appease his wrath. Not only the Protestants of Silesia, but Rákóczy and the rebels of Hungary and Transylvania, sought his assistance against Austria. Many Germans, on the other hand, including Leibnitz, either from a feeling of Protestant sympathy or from a real love of humanity and freedom, had convinced themselves that the Government of Louis XIV. was a menace to civilisation and to progress, and urged Charles to become the champion of religious freedom against France, as his predecessor, Gustavus Adolphus, had been against Austria. But the example of Gustavus Adolphus and the Thirty Years' War was urged also by France. Louis XIV. proposed a French alliance, the junction of the armies of Charles and of Marshal Villars, and the subsequent partition of Germany. These views were skilfully urged by French envoys, and were supported by a lavish distribution of bribes and presents. All this, however, was without result. Charles remained firm in his resolution not to interfere, though serious misunderstandings arose between him and the Emperor, and all the resources of the allies had to be brought into play to avert the possibility of an attack on Vienna. The causes of dispute were not serious, but each of them excited the inflammable mind of Charles, and each confirmed him in his obstinacy.

The weightiest of them were the attacks of the Imperial Government on the privileges confirmed to the Protestants by treaties, and the complaints of the Protestants of Silesia, to whom the King had rashly given his word on passing the Oder. The views of Charles on this subject were so strong that, at the end of 1706, a report was in circulation that he had determined to demand henceforth the election of a Protestant and a Catholic Emperor alternately. The other difficulties were of a more trifling nature. Some Swedish recruiting sergeants had been mobbed in Breslau, and one had been killed. For this, Charles demanded satisfaction. The rich Austrian chamberlain, Count Zabor, had quarrelled with Strahlenheim, the Swedish minister at Vienna, and had dared to express himself contemptuously of King Stanislas. Then there was a dispute about the secularised bishopric of Eutin, which was another phase of the quarrel between Holstein-Gottorp and Denmark; and, finally, the Austrians were accused of a breach of neutrality because they had assisted the Russians to escape after the battle of Fraustadt. Prussia, on Charles's demand, had punished Colonel Schlund for giving the Tsar advice on the improvement of his artillery, and had proscribed the theologian Dippel for a pamphlet criticising the Swedish decrees against the Pietists; but the Emperor could not bring himself to be thus submissive. The breach between him and Charles widened daily, and the French lost no opportunity of increasing it.

As an attack upon Austria by Charles would have practically aided France, and would have necessitated the recall of the Imperial troops, the Duke of Marlborough, who had already been successful as a negotiator, urged by the Elector of Hanover and others of the allies, went to Saxony with an autograph letter from Queen Anne—'not from her chancery, but from her heart'—as she phrased it. Charles accepted Marlborough's compliments, but made none in reply. Neither made a favourable impression on the other, though Marlborough preferred Charles to Augustus or Stanislas, both of whom he had the fortune to meet. Marlborough made no formal propositions. He surveyed the ground, endeavoured to ascertain the real feelings of the King, suggested to Piper the possibility of mediation in the

case of the Eutin bishopric, proclaimed the warmest sympathy with the Protestants of Germany, and full agreement with the King on this point, but expressed the wish of his Queen that the claims of the Silesian Protestants against the Emperor should not be pressed until after the termination of the war with France, when both England and Holland would support them. Although the relations of King Charles to the Emperor gave the allies great anxiety during the whole of the summer, the vexatious questions were finally arranged. An indemnity was paid to the widow of the recruiting sergeant killed in Breslau; satisfaction was given for the conduct of Count Zabor; and the affair of the Eutin bishopric was settled by the Danish Prince Charles, who had been supported by Austria, giving up his claims in return for a pension from Holland and England. The Silesian business was more difficult. Charles would not desist from his demands; the Emperor refused to grant them; and England and Holland refused to guarantee the Peace of Altranstädt until Charles should become reconciled with the Emperor. Things went so far that the King, who had already prevented the Duke of Savoy from taking part in the siege of Toulon by threatening to invade his dominions, finally said to Piper: 'I have already, out of politeness, waited too long for the final explanation of the Emperor; therefore, I have resolved to march the day after to-morrow.' Neither Piper nor Cederhjelm could move him, though they talked with him till midnight. Sleep brought other counsels, and the next day the King was more yielding. All sides took advantage of this disposition: the Austrians signed the conditions which Charles demanded for the Silesian Protestants; and England and Holland, in spite of the efforts of Russia, consented to guarantee the Peace of Altranstädt.

In December, 1706, Peter left St. Petersburg for Moscow, intending to keep the Christmas holidays there, as in former years. But at Narva he was met by a courier from Menshikóf with the news of the treaty of Altranstädt and of the departure of Augustus for Saxony. Instead of going to Moscow, he went straight to Volynia, where his army was in winter quarters, and passed more than four months at Zolkiew, near Lemberg, 'in order to keep on his side the Republic, which remained

without a head, as the peace was made without its knowledge.' Besides Menshikóf, he had with him there Sheremétief and Repnin, Prince Gregory Dolgorúky, and the hetman Mazeppa. Even his son, the Tsarévitch Alexis, then in his eighteenth year, came on from Moscow and stayed till the middle of May. One of his most trusted advisers was wanting—Count[1] Theodore Golovín, who had died four months before, of fever, at Glukhof, while hastening from Moscow to meet the Tsar at Kíef. His body, which had been taken to Moscow, still lay unburied in the church, because Peter insisted on accompanying it to the grave. It was not until the beginning of March that, seeing no chance of his speedy return, the Tsar gave the order for the funeral. Golovín was one of the old adherents of Peter's family, who was loved not only as a friend, but trusted in the conduct of business. Enjoying the confidence of the Tsar Alexis, he had watched over Peter's boyhood until, in 1686, he was sent by Sophia on an important mission to Siberia, where, in 1689, he concluded the first treaty with China—the unfortunate Treaty of Nertchínsk—of which we shall speak more at length in another place.

The title of Admiral passed to Apráxin; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was entrusted to the Chamberlain Gabriel Ivánovitch Golófkin. Twelve years older than the Tsar, and connected with his family through the Naryshkins, Golófkin had passed his life in the intimacy of Peter, and had accompanied him in many of his expeditions. He had remained at Moscow during Peter's journey to the West, but had written him familiar and jesting letters. During the war, he had been charged with important duties, and had kept up his correspondence in the same vein, occasionally too coarse to translate. Golófkin soon received the title of Count from the Emperor Joseph, which was subsequently confirmed by the Tsar, and after the battle of Poltáva he was created Chancellor.

The most important man in the Foreign Office, however, was Peter Shafírof—a personage of a different sort. The son of a poor Polish Jew employed as a translator, he had been ap-

[1] He was created a Count of the Holy Roman Empire by the Emperor Leopold, on November 16, 1701.

prenticed to a tradesman, and had been found by Peter in one of his wanderings about Moscow. The Tsar was struck by his quickness and his knowledge of languages, took him into his service, and rapidly promoted him. Shafírof accompanied Peter in his journey abroad and during his earlier campaigns against the Swedes, was made privy secretary in 1704, became director of the Foreign Office in the autumn of 1706, was promoted to be vice-chancellor in 1709, and in the following year was created the first Russian baron. He occupies, henceforth, a prominent place in the history of Peter's reign.

A diet of the confederates of Sandomir was in session at Lemberg, a dozen miles from the Tsar's headquarters, but its members were too wavering in mind to know what to do. As Peter wrote to Apráxin: 'Here everything is as new beer, and we don't yet know what it will be like.'

Meanwhile, as the Tsar was left without allies, he resolved to ascertain whether Charles was ready for peace. Colonel Morel de Carrière, a French officer in the Russian service, was sent to Besenval, the French Minister to the Swedish Court, with propositions, in Peter's own handwriting, of which the substance was that he would be ready to cede Dorpat; if this were not enough, he would pay a money compensation for Narva; or, if peace were impossible otherwise, he would yield Narva, but nothing more. Similar propositions were made through the wife of the Crown Hetman Sieniawski—a daughter of the Crown Marshal Lubomirski—to the Voievode Jablonowski, the uncle of King Stanislas, who had great influence at the Swedish head-quarters. The same offer was also made through Dasalleurs, the French Minister with Prince Rákóczy, and then a promise was given that the Russian troops would be put at the disposition of Louis XIV. in case his mediation were successful. These overtures were all fruitless. Charles put off Besenval under various pretexts before refusing outright. At first it was thought the Tsar was not in earnest, or he would not excite Poland against Stanislas, and that he wished only to have the air of being inclined to peace. In June, Charles replied to Besenval's persistent applications that he should not believe the Tsar until he had his propositions in writing, as he could not trust his word, and the title of Prince of Ingria given

to Menshikóf showed that the Tsar had no thought of peace; when compensation was broached, he said that he would not bargain away his subjects for money. In August, he said that he could do nothing until he went back to Poland; that then would be time enough to give passes to the Tsar's plenipotentiaries. In October, when the Tsar offered to give up everything except Noteborg, St. Petersburg, and a narrow strip of land on each side of the Neva, Charles replied: 'I will sacrifice the last Swedish soldier rather than cede Noteborg.'

This was the last attempt of Peter, but others, like Piper and Stanislas, still tried to dissuade Charles from the invasion of Russia, and urged him to make peace, now that he was at the height of his fame. To Piper the King said that he knew with whom he had to deal, and that the moment he was back in Sweden the Tsar would overturn Stanislas, and put Augustus or Rákóczy on the throne of Poland. To others he said he was willing to make peace, but in 'Saxon style.' To Stanislas, who complained of the misery of his subjects, and almost regretted having accepted the crown, Charles said: 'The Tsar is not yet humiliated enough to accept the conditions of peace which I intend to prescribe.' Later in the autumn he replied to the renewed entreaties of Stanislas: 'Poland will never have quiet as long as she has for a neighbour this unjust Tsar, who begins a war without any good cause for it. It will be needful first for me to march thither and depose him also.' Charles talked of restoring the old order of things in Russia, of cancelling the unpopular reforms, and of abolishing the regular army and bringing back the Streltsi; and so sure was he of success, that on taking leave of Stanislas, on the eve of the campaign, he said: 'I hope Prince Sobieski will always remain faithful to us. Does your Majesty not think that he would make an excellent Tsar of Russia?'

In seeking for aid and counsel, the Tsar naturally turned first to England. Already, in 1705, Whitworth, the English minister, on arriving in Moscow, had expressed the willingness of Queen Anne to mediate between Russia, Poland, and Sweden, but added that anything the Queen could do would depend entirely upon the attitude of the King of Sweden. For that reason he had on his way to Russia passed by Silesia and Dan-

zig, and what he had seen and heard there had convinced him that King Charles was disinclined to peace; he therefore could make no definite proposition. At the end of 1706, Matvéief, the Russian minister in Holland, was ordered to go to London, 'as this was now the main stronghold of the grand alliance.' He was instructed to say that if the promise of the Queen, given through Whitworth, should be carried out, the Tsar, out of gratitude, would be ready to join in the grand alliance against France; and that even if the Swedes were unwilling to come to terms, the united powers could put down both France and Sweden. The Tsar left the terms of peace entirely to the Queen, with the sole condition that he should not be obliged to give up those hereditary possessions which he had reconquered, though he would make great concessions on other points. Matvéief was ordered to lay stress upon the advantages to England of a Russian alliance and of a Russian port in the Baltic, since with such a port Russian goods, and especially naval stores and materials, could easily be brought to England several times a year, and to express the willingness of the Tsar to sign a commercial treaty. To one paragraph in his instructions, that if necessary he might assure the English Government that Russia had no intention of having a large fleet of war vessels on the Baltic, the Tsar made an autograph note: 'This is very well, but it would be better not to mention prematurely the number of vessels.' Should negotiations be likely to fail, he was to seek for means to influence Marlborough, Godolphin, and the Secretary of State for the Northern Department, and could even promise them large presents, but he was to act cautiously and economically in this respect. Here Peter added another note: 'I do not think that Marlborough can be bought, because he is so enormously rich. However, you can promise him about 200,000, or more.'

Matvéief arrived in London in May, 1707, and was at first pleased with the agreeable manner of the English officials, but he speedily encountered difficulties. Some of these arose from the constitution of England, and Matvéief had trouble in explaining to his superiors the differences between Whigs and Tories, between the partisans of the Queen and those of Hanover. He was especially annoyed that the merchants, in spite of their advantageous trade with Russia, were unwilling by their

representations to help on his demands. He made a journey to Windsor expressly to expedite his negotiations, but the only answer was that there was no time to consider his propositions. Finally, Harley, in a friendly conversation, explained to him that discussion was postponed because the Queen, in the present circumstances, did not wish to quarrel with Russia, with which it had an advantageous trade, nor with Sweden, since King Charles had declared that he would do nothing against Austria. As Matvéief could not be kept much longer without a formal answer of some sort, Queen Anne gave him an audience in September, and said that she was ready to make an alliance with the Tsar; and at the end of the month Harley called on him and talked over the terms of the answer of the Queen to the Tsar. In this letter, the Queen said that she waited only for the consent of Holland to state on what terms the alliance could be made, and that she was then ready to make a special commercial treaty. Harley confided to Matvéief, in the greatest secrecy, that the English Government had promised money to the Swedish ministers to save Patkul from execution; 'but,' he added, 'that is a private affair; publicly, the Queen cannot interfere, but still I think Patkul's life will be saved.' Marlborough wrote to Matvéief that he was using all his influence in Holland to persuade the States-General to agree to the entrance of Russia into the grand alliance, but Matvéief did not trust much to these assurances, and wrote to Van der Burg, his agent at the Hague, to find out whether Marlborough was acting according to his promises, or whether he had 'honey on his tongue and gall in his heart.' Two months passed without answer from Holland, and the English ministers said they must wait till Marlborough returned. 'The Ministry here,' wrote Matvéief to Golófkin, 'is more subtle than the French even in *finesse* and intrigue; their smooth and profitless speeches bring us nothing but loss of time.' Marlborough came to London about the middle of November, visited Matvéief the next evening, and talked a long time alone with him. He recounted in detail his efforts in Holland, but brought up many difficulties. Matvéief finally asked the Duke to say plainly, as an honest man, without sweet promises, whether the Tsar could hope for anything or not. Marlborough, in reply, was profuse in pro-

fessions and promises, and with these Matvéief had to be content.[1]

Huyssen, Peter's secret agent, had some relations with Marlborough on the Continent, and, according to his report, the Duke declared that he would be ready to co-operate with the Tsar, provided he were given a principality in Russia. When Golófkin referred this to Peter, he replied: 'Answer Huyssen that if Marlborough wishes a Russian principality he can promise him one of three, whichever he wishes—Kíef, Vladímir, or Siberia; and he can promise him also that, if he persuades the Queen to make a good peace for us with the Swedes, he shall receive, as the revenues of his principality, 50,000 ducats for every year of his life, in addition to the Order of St. Andrew, and a ruby as large as any in Europe.' The negotiations with Marlborough did not proceed further. No mediation was possible so long as Peter refused to give up St. Petersburg, and Charles refused to make peace without it.

Reference has been made to the offers for the intervention of Louis XIV. In Prussia, Izmáilof made equally fruitless efforts for mediation, or at least for a declaration of neutrality, and promised Count Wartenberg 100,000 ducats for his effective assistance. Dorpat and Narva were offered to Denmark as an inducement to declare war once more against Sweden.

At the end of February, 1707, the Polish Diet at Lemberg sent a deputation to the Tsar with the demand that those parts of the Ukraine west of the Dniéper—the district of Biéla-Tsérkof (Biala-Cerkiew)—which had been seized upon by the Cossack Paléi, should be at once restored to the Republic.

[1] Matvéief appears to have had some talk with Marlborough even before proceeding to London; for Marlborough in a letter to Godolphin, dated the Hague, April $\frac{9}{20}$, 1707, says: 'The ambassador of Muscovy has been with me, and made many expressions of the great esteem his master has for Her Majesty; that he would do everything to merit her friendship; and, as a mark of it, he had resolved to send his only son into England; but he desired nobody but the Queen might know it, since he must pass *incognito* through several countries. He is also very desirous of the honour, as he calls it, of the Queen's appointing him a house. As it can be of no precedent to any country but their own, and as the expense is so very inconsiderable, I hope Her Majesty will do it; for *it is certain you will not be able to gratify him in any part of his negotiation.*' Coxe's *Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough*, vol. ii. p. 44, Bohn's ed.

They complained of the great distress which they still suffered in consequence of the necessity of providing the Russian army with provisions and forage, and of the unlawful exactions of the officers, alleging that they were better off during the Swedish occupation, when things taken were more promptly paid for; they complained that instead of 12,000 Russian troops, as agreed upon, they were compelled to support many more, and threatened that, unless some allowance were made, they would give no provisions during the six summer months. They demanded also the immediate payment of 200,000 rubles, according to treaty. Golófkin, who had charge of this negotiation, replied that 40,000 rubles had already been given to the Crown army, and 30,000 rubles to the Lithuanian army; that there had been no agreement to pay in advance, and that nothing was due for the previous year, because the requisite number of Polish troops had not been put in the field. The Poles proposed to give up the claim for money if they should be relieved from supplying the troops, but this the Tsar considered impossible, and agreed to pay immediately 50,000 rubles; but he refused to pay damages for illegal acts committed by marauders, although he gave strict orders for the maintenance of discipline, and appointed General Bruce to act with a Polish commissary in investigating complaints and punishing offenders. 50,000 rubles had been promised to the Poles, but it was not possible at that time to raise more than 20,000. The Poles would not consent to take less than half, and continued to press for the surrender of Bićla-Tsérkof. It was impossible to give them back the Ukraine at the risk of sowing discontent among the Cossacks, when Charles XII. was again expected in Poland, and yet it was impolitic to alienate them, and, by a direct refusal, perhaps send them over to the party of Stanislas. It was necessary to temporise, and in spite of his recent disgrace and punishment, the veteran Ukráintsef was named Commissary to the Diet. His great experience in Polish affairs, and his diplomatic skill, combined with a judicious distribution of money, brought the Diet to accept the 20,000 rubles, and to be satisfied with the promise of the Ukraine. 'All here have now become merry,' wrote Ukráintsef to Golófkin, 'and feast and make good cheer, hearing that the enemy, with all his forces, is going against us

by the way of Lithuania, for they think that Stanislas Leszczynski will stick to him. The hetman Sieniawski was very sad for a week over the capture of his wife by the enemy, but since he has come to Lemberg he is comforted again, and scarcely a day passes that he is not at a banquet.'

The Tsar was not satisfied with this neutral position of the Polish magnates, and felt it necessary to weaken the influence of Stanislas. In pursuance of this aim, he sent a special mission to Rome, in order, if possible, to persuade the Pope to refuse recognition to the Swedish puppet. He chose for this mission a man who subsequently attained distinction as a diplomatist, Prince Boris Kurákin, his friend and comrade from boyhood,[1] who had studied at Venice, and had already visited Rome. This step had been suggested more than a year before, both by leading Poles and by the Catholic clergy. The Tsar had atoned for the unfortunate affray in the Basilian monastery at Polótsk by expressions and acts of sincere repentance, by the immunities accorded to the Uniates during the war, and by the privileges granted to Catholics and Catholic missionaries in Russia. The reverential curiosity which he had shown in his visits to Jesuit colleges, and his attendance with his son at the consecration of the Bishop of Cujavia, disposed in his favour those enthusiasts who were ready to see in all this symptoms of a desire to unite the two churches. Prince Kurákin was well received at Rome; attention was given to his arguments as to the danger to Catholicism of allowing Swedish Protestant influence to become predominant in Poland; and Pope Clement XI., through Cardinal Paulucci, promised that he would not recognise Stanislas as king until he had been so recognised by the whole of Poland.

To bring order into Polish affairs, the Tsar considered it indispensable to provide another king in place of Augustus, who could now have no claims either on the loyalty of the Poles or the support of Russia. Both in Moscow and in Vienna it was said that Menshikóf was intriguing for the Polish crown, and the arrival of the Tsarévitch Alexis gave some colour to the rumour that Peter designed to place his son on the vacant

[1] Prince Kurákin had married the sister of the Tsaritsa Eudoxia.

throne. The Polish magnates had their dreams of gaining the honour which Charles had conferred on Stanislas. From Peter's point of view, it was necessary to have some strong and able man, who could lead armies as well as rule men, and his choice fell first on Prince Eugene of Savoy, then at the height of his reputation. In order to get the consent of the Emperor, in whose service Prince Eugene then was, he decided on sending a solemn embassy to Vienna, and placed at the head of it Prince Boris Prozorófsky, a member of one of the oldest Russian families, but better known by his escape from the massacre at Astrakhán, after Stenka Rázin had hanged him by his feet to the city wall for a whole night. Prozorófsky arrived, with a suite of 200 men, but the order for his departure never came. The difficulty was this: It was impossible to choose a king before the throne was formally declared vacant, and the Diet hesitated to proclaim the interregnum, as no official notification had been received of the abdication of Augustus. It was not until April that Peter could bring them to agree on this. He wrote to Menshikóf from Lemberg: 'It was hardly possible to manage affairs with these rascals so as to bring them to sign and confirm all the treaties and issue universals.' The embassy of Prozorófsky was given up, and the Tsar sent instead a letter to the Emperor,[1] in which he bitterly complained of the cowardice and faithlessness of King Augustus, especially of his shameful surrender of Patkul. Urbich, in presenting this letter, set forth the Tsar's desire to enter the grand alliance, his willingness to give some of his troops for service against the rebels in Hungary, and his intention of procuring the election of Prince Eugene as King of Poland. Negotiations were carried on cautiously, but the secret got out, and with his congratulations Count Wratislaw was able to send to the prince some effusions of the rhymesters of the day. Prince Eugene was in Milan, preparing to go to the siege of Toulon, when he received the proposition. Thanking the Tsar for the flattering honour, he said that his acceptance must depend upon the permission of his sovereign, and wrote to the Emperor Joseph that, in accordance with the principles of strict obedience which had governed

[1] Similar letters were sent to England and Holland.

him for the twenty years he had been in the imperial service, he left the matter entirely in his hands, without any feelings of vain ambition. Although the Emperor could see advantages to himself in the project, yet he did not dare further to offend Charles XII., who had so taken to heart the success of Stanislas, especially as his troops were scattered on the Rhine, in Italy, and in Hungary. A polite but evasive answer was therefore returned to all the Russian propositions; it was said that, as the services of Prince Eugene were indispensable during the campaign just beginning, nothing could be decided definitely before the next winter.

Even before receiving the Emperor's reply, however, Peter, who already knew of what was practically the refusal of Prince Eugene, had proposed the Polish crown to Prince Jacob Sobieski. This plan originated with Szaniawski, Bishop of Cujavia, who suggested to Prince Gregory Dolgorúky that, if the Tsar would take Sobieski under his protection, he would find in him a true ally and a mortal enemy to both Stanislas and Augustus, and gave him the conditions on which, he said, the prince would accept. Peter replied favorably to Dolgorúky, and on the next day, June 7, wrote to Prince Sobieski enclosing formal proposals. The bishop had apparently made the proposition on his own responsibility, in order to thwart the ambitious plans of the hetman Sieniawski, since Sobieski, grateful to Charles XII. for releasing him from his Saxon prison, had declared to Stanislas in the previous December that he had never had any pretensions to the Polish throne, and that if fate had given him the disposal of it, he could have offered it to no one but its present worthy possessor.

When the Tsar found that he could obtain no support at Vienna, he felt no hesitation in turning to Rákóczy and the Hungarian insurgents, against whom he had just offered the use of his troops. That proposition had been refused because some of the Austrian statesmen had feared 'lest the Tsar might establish himself in Hungary, with the aid of the Serbian inhabitants of the Greek faith.' Peter had already begun to interest himself in the Eastern Christians, was in correspondence with the boyárs of Moldavia and Wallachia, and had received envoys from the Austrian Serbs—those very men of whom Rákóczy wrote: 'They look on the Russians as on the Messiah who will come to deliver them.' Although aided by French money, French

officers, and French influence, Francis Rákóczy was by no means a French puppet. He had ancestral claims, for his father and grandfather were princes of Transylvania, and his mother was the heroic Helen Zriny, the widow of Tékély. He had married a princess of Hesse-Rheinsfeld. He was brave and popular; the revolution was general; he had been proclaimed Voievode of Transylvania and chief of the Hungarian nation; he had organised a government which ruled the greater part of the countries belonging to the crown of St. Stephen, and a diet had voted the deposition of Joseph as king of Hungary. When approached by the Russian agents, Rákóczy at first held off and hesitated. He was supported by France, and France was friendly to Sweden, and he had to find out how an alliance with Russia would be considered at Versailles. Finally, he yielded to what he called 'the threats of the Tsar,' and in August sent an embassy to Peter. His envoys, at the head of whom was Bercseny, and among whom was an Andrassy, first offered the crown of Hungary to the Tsarévitch Alexis, but the Tsar refused it. After some negotiation, in the name of Rákóczy and of the kingdom of Hungary, they concluded a treaty at Warsaw, September 15. By this instrument, Rákóczy accepted the crown of Poland in case of his election, but it was agreed that if the Swedes should invade Poland, the election should be postponed for four months, in order to allow France and Bavaria to mediate between Russia and Sweden. After that time, without further delay, Rákóczy was to be declared king, and the Tsar was to publish his alliance with Hungary. In Peter's absence Rákóczy was to command the allied forces, and in case of disaster, and the loss of the Polish throne, he was to be given a refuge in Russia. The liberties of Hungary and Transylvania were to be secured, free trade was to be established between those countries and Russia, and the two parties were to maintain residents at each other's courts.

Many Poles were unfavourable to this project, and the invasion of Russia by the Swedes prevented any attempt to carry it out.[1]

[1] Soloviéf, xv.; Fryxell, i.; Droysen, *Geschichte der Preussischen Politik*, IV. 1: Coxe's *Memoirs of Marlborough*, ii.; *Marlborough's Letters and Despatches*, London, 1845; Carlson, *Om Karl XII.'s Vistelsei Sachsen*, Stockholm, 1877; Tengberg, *Om Sveriges förhallande till främmande magter*, Lund, 1854; *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, *Actenstücke zur Geschichte Franz Rákóczy's*, Vienna, 1858; Arneth, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen*, I., Vienna, 1864; Golikof.

LIII.

THE WAR IN LITHUANIA.—1708.

After the declaration of the interregnum in Poland, the disasters and confusion in that unfortunate country increased. Some of the nobles declared themselves for Stanislas; others waited for the election of a new king. As is frequently the case in civil wars, families were divided and had members in both camps. Prince Yanusz Wisniowiecki, the Voievode of Cracow, was one of the leaders of the confederation of Lemberg; while his brother, the Grand Hetman of Lithuania, after some hesitation, went over to King Stanislas, and took with him the Lithuanian army. General Sienicki, by a secret arrangement with Michael Wisniowiecki, captured the 40,000 rubles that arrived from Moscow, and, in spite of his oath, declared himself on the side of the Swedes, and established himself in the fortress of Býkhof. Although his garrison was small, yet it required a considerable force to dislodge him. Lieutenant-General Bauer failed at the first storm. Prince Répnin and General Hallart were sent to reinforce him, and engineers were demanded from St. Petersburg to construct mines. After four weeks' siege and several assaults, Býkhof was taken and razed to the ground. Sienicki was carried in chains to Moscow, where he ended his life in prison, and the garrison, about 3,000 men, were sent to Azof.

The Russians were hated by the Poles, and murders were not infrequent. A petty nobleman, Wiezicki, living in Dub, invited to his house a party of officers and soldiers of the Seménofsky regiment, thirteen in all, who were going to Pinsk, and murdered them during their sleep. 'I am very sad,' Peter wrote to Captain Izmáilof of the guard, 'over such good officers and soldiers, with whom I had grown up from boyhood,' and

he ordered Sheremétief to hunt out the murderers, who had taken refuge in the forests. Wiezicki and nine of his peasants were caught and executed.

In the spring of 1707, four months before Charles actually left Saxony, there was a rumour that he was about to march through Poland and invade Russia. Peter immediately sent detachments into Great Poland, toward the Silesian frontier, in order to devastate the country, and thus render the Swedish march more difficult. Towns like Rawicz and Lissa were burned and destroyed, bridges were broken down and wells filled up. Colonel Schultz, with his band of Tartars and Kalmuks, was most active in this kind of work.

The danger seemed so pressing that the engineer Iván Kortchmín was sent to Moscow, to put the fortifications of that city, and especially of the Krémlin, into thorough repair. He arrived there in the middle of June, and in ten days the work began. But even before his arrival, the report of Charles's march had reached Moscow, and, according to Pleyer, 'the Muscovites were greatly terrified. Nobody spoke of anything except of flight or death. Many of the merchants, under pretext of going to the fair, took their wives and children to Archangel, whither they had usually gone alone. The great foreign merchants and capitalists hastened to go to Hamburg with their families and property, while the mechanics and artisans went into their service.' The foreigners, not only of Moscow, but of all the neighbouring towns, applied to their ministers for protection, as they feared not only the harshness and rapacity of the Swedes, but, even more, a general rising and massacre in Moscow, where people were already embittered by the immeasurable increase of the taxes.' 'The terror here has still more increased,' he wrote, in a subsequent despatch, 'since the order has arrived to repair all the walls around the town and fortify the Krémlin. An engineer has come here who studied fortifications for two years in Berlin, and has drawn up a plan of the works. The beautiful old church of Jerusalem, or the Trinity, is to be pulled down. The Hospital row of shops, famous from old times, the Foundry Court, the Red and White walls, with all the churches, houses, monasteries—all he proposes to pull down, otherwise it will be impossible to shoot.

THE FORTIFIED MONASTERY OF TROITSA.

Five thousand men are at work every day. The people are so enraged that the engineer does not dare to show himself without a guard.' The Jerusalem Church referred to by Pleyer is just outside of the Krémlin, and is that commonly known by the name of the Church of St. Basil the Beatified, with its eleven domes, each of different colour and design. Fortunately for the beauty of Moscow, this plan of wholesale destruction was not carried out, and this church, the towers and walls of the Krémlin, and the other antiquities, were preserved. The news of the disorders at Moscow reached the army, and an official proclamation was sent back, deriding the fears of the Muscovites when the enemy was not as near as he had been previously, but saying that precaution was better than negligence, and quoting the old Roman proverb: 'A wild beast cannot harm a cautious horse.' Meanwhile, two men were taken from every house, to work on the fortifications, or three rubles had to be paid every month; and so strict were the demands that children were taken from the houses as pledges for the appearance of the workmen. In November, the fortifications were inspected by the Tsarévitch Alexis, who had just returned from the army, and Pleyer writes: 'In the last six months the fortifications have made great progress. Guns will soon be placed on many of them, and fire can be opened. The engineer demands 10,000 cannon.' The Tróïtsa Monastery, and towns of Mozháisk, Sérpukhof, Tver, and others, were fortified in the same way.

Peter had already, in January, 1707, given Apráxin orders for the protection of the frontier, and had recommended that, from the beginning of spring, no grain nor hay should be allowed to remain in the granaries or barns, but that all should be concealed in the woods or buried in the ground, and that the cattle should also be hidden in the woods and swamps, in places agreed upon beforehand by the villagers, to which they could flee on the approach of the enemy. The army was strengthened with fresh recruits; and in the same way that Peter had taken into his service agents for finding out new sources of revenue, so he soon had agents, paid and volunteer, informing him where recruits could be obtained. The nobleman Bezobrázof, for instance, reported that in the district of Briansk there had been lately a vast increase in the number of

church servitors, who were unnecessary for religious purposes, but would make excellent dragoons or soldiers. Peter replied with a decree to enroll all who were fit for military service. Instructions had also been given to Mazeppa for the defence of Kief and the Ukraine.

The Swedes, by remaining in Saxony, gave Peter time for preparation. It was not until August, 1707, that Charles began to move. He had with him the best army he had yet commanded, composed, with those that joined him at Slupce, of 44,000 men, in excellent condition, well-clothed and well-armed, of whom 24,000 were cavalry. They were not all Swedes, for his recruiting agents had been very busy in Saxony, Silesia, and other German countries. Some of his best officers, however, such as Arvid Horn and Magnus Stenbock, had, for unknown reasons, gone back to Sweden. Not everyone in Europe felt as sure of the Swedish success as did Charles. Huyssen wrote from Vienna, in September, that 'the Swedes marched unwillingly, and admitted that they had become quite unaccustomed to war after their long repose and luxurious life in Saxony.' 'Some even predict a Russian victory, while others say that there would be less glory, but also far less danger, if the Tsar should withdraw his troops from Poland, and diminish the forces of the enemy by petty skirmishes and by sudden attacks of Cossacks.'

Peter himself had long ago decided that this was necessary. A council of war had resolved not to risk a battle in Poland, and even not on the frontier, unless it were absolutely necessary; but to resist at the river-crossings, harass the rear-guard, and lay waste the country in the line of march. On hearing of the project of the Swedes, Menshikóf withdrew, established a strong outpost line along the Bug, from Pultusk to Brzesc-Litewski, and took a position at Dezéntsoli, between Wilna and Grodno, while Sheremétief, with the cavalry, was at Minsk. Another council of war at Meretch confirmed what had been decided upon months before at Zolkiew.

Peter again experienced the excitement, the anxiety, and the dejection which overcame him during the winter, when his troops were shut up in Grodno, and he noticed in himself a greater irritability than at any time since the events of 1698

and 1699. In a fit of anger against Apráxin, for not punishing those governors who had sent him recruits in a number less than was incumbent upon them, he wrote, sharply: 'That you have done nothing to those Voievodes who have not brought men as was ordered, that you throw the blame of this on the departments of Moscow, which is not to your credit, is due only to one of two causes—either to laziness, or that you did not wish to quarrel with them.' Apráxin felt deeply hurt, and Peter hastened to retract his bitter words, and wrote: 'You feel aggrieved at what I wrote to you about the Voievodes. But, for God's sake, have no grief about it, for really I bear no malice to you; but since I have been here the slightest thing which thwarts me puts me into a passion.'

There was reason enough for this, for while the Swedes were threatening invasion, rebellions broke out among the Bashkirs and among the Cossacks of the Don—rebellions that were so threatening that Peter had resolved to go to the Don in person. Fortunately, the Tsar received news of the quelling of these insurrections in time to bend all his energies to the war with Sweden. We shall go on with the history of the campaign, leaving for the present the account of these disturbances, to understand which it is necessary to set forth with some detail the internal situation of the empire since the battle of Narva.

Although Charles left Silesia in September, he did not continue his march, but remained encamped for four months at Slupce, on the banks of the Vistula. The cause of this delay is unknown. As on the previous occasions, Charles may have preferred a winter campaign simply on account of its difficulties, or he may have feared the bad roads of the Russian autumn. Some delay, at least, was caused by waiting for the river to freeze. Bridges could not be built on account of the rapid current and the ice, and finally, his impatience was such that he made roads over the thin ice with straw and snow, and passed in comparative safety on January 9, 1708. This long stay was very hard for the unfortunate Poles. Stanislas complained bitterly, and said the Swedes were as unmerciful to his poor subjects as the Russians were; but his complaints were unheeded. 'The Swedes,' wrote the French Minister, 'hold the Poles in contempt, and do

not consider them worthy of attention, and even the King is so angry over their weak and wretched behaviour that he has no compassion for them individually or collectively.' On the other side of the Vistula there seemed to be plenty of provisions and forage, and Quarter-master-general Gyllenkrok urged the King to go into winter quarters there. But this did not enter into his plans, and leaving behind General Krassau, with 8,000 men to support the tottering throne of Stanislas, he set out for Lithuania. Instead of taking the usual road through Pultusk, Ostrolenka, and Lomza, along the Bug and the Naréva, even though it was occupied by Russians, he chose the seldom-travelled route farther to the north, along the Prussian boundaries, through the forests and swamps of Masuria, as many thought, simply to have the pleasure of marching where no army had been before. The King and all were obliged to bivouac in the snow without tents, and in spite of the blazing fires and the military music which Charles kept up all night to inspirit the men, many lives were lost from the cold and fatigue. Horses died in such numbers that a great part of the baggage had to be abandoned. Worse than all for the Swedes was the hostility of the population—a wild race, habituated by their contests with bears and wolves to the use of firearms, and scarcely acknowledging the authority of their own king. They hid behind trees and bushes, and shot down the Swedish soldiers. Charles himself narrowly escaped a bullet. To stop this partisan warfare, the angry King gave orders to hang the peasants as fast as they were caught, and to burn their houses. On one day General Kreutz captured a band of fifty men, and compelled them to hang one another, the last man being butchered by the soldiers. Even women and children were not spared. At last a large band collected, and offered the Swedes free passage on the condition of the payment of ten thalers for every horse. Otherwise, they said, no man should depart alive. The King himself came to the conference, and the leader of the peasants, standing behind the barricade, said: 'These lands belong to the peasants, and they are not willing to let anyone through unless the money be paid down, and some officers left as surety.' 'When the peasant leader,' says Hultmann, the King's butler, in his diary, 'had spoken thus audaciously, the King had his old body-servant,

Måns Lenk, slyly put a ball through him, so that he sank down on the spot.'

Another Swedish account confirms this with the words: 'In this way his Majesty taught the peasants something else than to presume to treat with a king.'

Peter had passed the summer in Poland, suffering from fever the whole of the two months he was in Warsaw, and coming up slowly through Lithuania, inspecting the military positions as he passed, arrived in St. Petersburg at the beginning of November. It is in such hasty visits as this that the all-embracing energy of Peter seems most apparent. He inspected the fortifications at St. Petersburg, Schlüsselburg, and Cronstadt, was constant in attendance at the Admiralty, and besides the numerous orders he gave for recruiting, for supplying and clothing his troops, for the defence of the frontier, he found time to send a word of condolence to the father of Prince Iván Troekúrof; to write to the Princess Menshikóf a friendly note, in which he begged her to take better care of her husband, and 'feed him up so that he should not look as thin as when at Merétch;' to send two Latin books to Apráxin to be translated into Russian; and to give orders for training the pups of his favourite dog. More than all this, he accomplished an act about which he had long been troubled in mind:—he was privately married to his beloved Catherine, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, some time in the month of November. The Feast of St. Alexander Nefsky he celebrated in the house of Menshikóf, and wrote to him: 'On your name's-day we were merrier than I have ever been since the death of Lefort.' A week later there was a similar feast on St. Andrew's Day, and in sending the account of it to Menshikóf, Peter added a new cheese made from the milk of his Dutch cows. The same day he set out for Moscow, to pass the Christmas holidays. There he found work for his hands in providing for the sufferers by a recent conflagration; in enlarging and supplying his new apothecary's establishment, and in sending medicines throughout the country, especially to the field hospitals; in studying the question of regulating the proof of silver; in supplying his printing-office with the new-fashioned type of his invention which had just arrived from Holland; in regulating the salaries

of his ambassadors and making provision for their regular payment; in arranging to send ten young Russians abroad; in providing for the education of the sons of the clergy; and, to ensure the proper style, in ordering all clothes and hats to be made after the German pattern and to be stamped at Moscow.

On hearing of the approach of the Swedes, Peter hastened to the army, and arrived at Grodno on February 1. Four days afterward he wrote to Apráxin to hasten to Wilna, but, 'if you have already come to Wilna, go no farther, for the enemy is already with us.' The enemy turned out to be Charles, who, hearing that Peter was in Grodno, and wishing to celebrate his name's-day, rode hastily forward with 900 cavalry, drove back Mühlenfeld, who, with 2,000 cavalry, was guarding the bridge, and entered the town only two hours after Peter had left. When the Tsar the next day discovered that the whole Swedish army had not advanced, and to what a small number of men his troops had yielded, he sent 3,000 men back to Grodno to surprise the Swedes. They reached the town at midnight, overpowered the small guard, and came within an ace of capturing Charles, who, together with Rehnskjöld and the Prince of Würtemberg, had rushed into the street, and had got involved in the throng. With the help of the inhabitants, who took their part, the Swedes after a long struggle drove the Russians out of the town. Mühlenfeld was arrested on a charge of treason, but escaped to the Swedes, to whom he communicated all he knew about the Russians. He was subsequently taken prisoner at Poltáva, tried, and shot.

From Merétch, Peter ordered Menshikóf to cut and barricade the roads in every direction, and to entrust the rear-guard to faithful and capable officers. On February 8 he was at Wilna, still uncertain which way Charles intended to march, though he had before felt sure that the purpose of the King was to occupy Livonia, and thence advance upon Pskof and Nóvgorod. Charles at first moved from Grodno north-eastward to Smorgone, famous for its dancing bears, and, it seemed, intended to march directly to Pskof, but, after waiting there a time, he turned south-eastward to Radóshkovitchi (Radoszkowicze), where he stayed until June. In order to protect the northern frontier, Peter, while still at Grodno, had written to

Cyril Naryshkin, the commander of Pskof, ordering him to provide for the active defence of Pskof and Dorpat, by strengthening the fortifications, and digging mines, though not putting powder in them; and further commanded him to send to Vologda all the inhabitants of Dorpat, allowing them to take their money with them, but registering and taking possession of their other property. The object of the Tsar was to render the country easier to defend, by removing those inhabitants who might sympathise with the Swedes, and, at the same time, in case Livonia were reoccupied, to provide Russia with colonies of useful and hard-working artisans. What the inhabitants of Livonia were again called upon to suffer we can see from what took place at Dorpat.

'On February 19, the pastors were obliged to give out from their pulpits the order that the inhabitants should sell their houses within a week, and be ready to go to the interior of Russia, with all their property laden on one, or at most two, sledges. On the reading of this command, the poor citizens became so confounded that their weeping and groaning had no end. All prayers for mercy were vain. People were obliged to comply with the orders, and make their sad and hasty preparations. Everyone, indeed, was allowed to turn his property into money. But who could buy the houses that were offered for sale, when everybody had to emigrate? Russian soldiers, and people from the country, now could get furniture for the tenth, or even for the hundredth, part of its value, and were soon unwilling to offer anything, as they hoped to get everything for nothing as soon as the inhabitants had gone. On February 16 the greater part of the citizens went to the Lord's Supper. It was a heart-rending separation from one another, from the city and church of their fathers, and perhaps, also, from their faith, for the poor people went as if into a Babylonian imprisonment. They would be separated from each other, scattered over a far land, and settled among strange people, of other manners, other speech, and other faith. The day of departure was set for February 29. The cold was terrible, but all had to go—young and old, well and sick, even the dying; everyone with the best of his goods packed on carts and sledges, the poorest on wretched sledges fastened to the train, and all

this amidst weeping, wailing, and moaning. The departure took place after a summons and in a certain order. The start was early in the morning, and only at ten o'clock in the forenoon did the last sledge leave the town, whereupon the Russians fired off the cannon on the walls, as though they had gained a victory. The following day, the church bells, the great chandeliers, and the copper roofs, were taken for the account of the Tsar, and what remained besides was sold at a nominal price. Finally, the fortifications were blown up, and the houses of the whole town burnt to ashes.'

Other towns were treated in a similar way, and from Narva and Ingria alone, seventy-one families were sent to Vológda and seventy-seven to Kazán. These harsh proceedings, however, were useless, for Charles had made up his mind to turn to the Ukraine, but none knew it except his most intimate advisers, much less the Russians.

While the Swedes were at Radóshkovitchi, Peter, who was ill with fever and excitement, took advantage of the lull in the campaign to go back to St. Petersburg, where he arrived on the last day of March. A fortnight later, he writes to Golófkin: 'People say that where God has built a church the devil has put an altar. Although hitherto I have always been as well here as in Paradise, now I do not know how I brought my fever with me from Poland, although I took good care of myself in the sledge, and was well clad, for I have been tormented with it during the whole of Passion week, and even at Easter I could hear nothing except the beginning of the Vespers, and the Gospel, on account of illness. Now, thank God! I am getting better, but still do not go out of the house. The holidays have not been celebrated at all as they should be; for, as far as my memory serves me, we were always in red, whereas now we are forced to stay in grey. The fever was accompanied by pains in my throat and chest, and ended in a cough, which is now very severe.' Two days afterward he wrote again: 'I beg you to do everything that can possibly be done without me. When I was well I let nothing pass, but now God sees what I am after this illness, which this place and Poland have caused me, and if in these next weeks I have no time for taking medicine and for resting, God knows what will happen.' On receiving news from

Menshikóf that the Swedes were preparing two or three bridges over the rivers, Peter answered, on April 25, begging him not to summon him to the army any sooner than was absolutely necessary, as he greatly needed rest and further treatment. 'You yourself know that I am not accustomed to write in this way, but God sees how little strength I have, and without health and strength it is impossible to be of service. But if for five or six weeks from this time I can stay here and take medicine, I then hope, with God's aid, to come to you well. If it is absolutely necessary for me to come, be good enough to have relays placed, for you can judge of the proper time better than I can here.'

In the midst of his weakness from fever and medicine, in the midst of his anxieties about the conduct of the war and the suppression of the revolt on the Don, Peter was cheered by the presence of his family. His sister Natalia, his half-sisters Mary and Theodosia, his sister-in-law, the widowed Tsarítsa Prascovia, with her three daughters, for whom he had always a sincere affection, all came to visit him at St. Petersburg. He was able to meet them at Schlüsselburg in April, and had the pleasure of showing them his new town, his fleet, and his conquests, for they remained for more than two months in St. Petersburg; they went to Cronstadt and were entertained on board ship, and they accompanied him to Kopórié, Yamburg, and Narva, where they celebrated his name's-day. That feast was clouded by the death of his little daughter Catherine; but a great object had been attained—his sisters had made the official acquaintance of Catherine as his wife. Their visit at this time showed the confidence of the Tsar in the safety of St. Petersburg. Meanwhile, the Tsarévitch Alexis was at Moscow in charge of the fortifications, and, by his indifference and his lack of energy, was causing anxiety to his father. To his confessor he had even expressed doubts as to the utility of these fortifications, and had said that 'if the Tsar's army could not hold back the Swedes, Moscow would not stop them.' The intercession of Catherine was necessary to avert Peter's anger, which the secret interviews of Alexis with his mother had greatly increased.

On June 17 Charles finally broke up his quarters at Radóshkovitchi, and on the 29th was on the banks of the river Bere-

zína. A part of the Russian army was drawn up at Borísof;[1] but Charles, leaving a few regiments under Colonel Sparre to make a feint, marched through the woods and morasses, and crossed with safety considerably lower down. Sheremétief and Menshikóf resolved to dispute the passage of the Swedes over the little river of Bibitch (Wabis), at the little town of Golóftchin (Holowczyn), known in old Russian history for the victory of Prince Yaropolk over Prince Vseslav of Polótsk, where marshes and ponds gave them a strong position. Unfortunately, they posted their left wing, commanded by Prince Répnin, at a considerable distance from the rest of the army, in such a way that their own communications were exceedingly difficult on account of the marshes. Charles, having placed his cannon in a commanding position the night before, on the morning of the 15th, covered by the artillery fire and a fog, crossed the river and the swamp in the face of the enemy, attacked the wing commanded by Prince Répnin, and after a severe contest of several hours, in which the Swedes used chiefly their bayonets, as their powder was wet, compelled the Russians gradually to retire into the forests. The cavalry under Goltz, which supported Répnin, had also a sharp fight with the King's drabants and body-guard; but the main body, under Sheremétief, was unable to reach them in time, and the whole army retreated to the Dniéper, and took positions at Mohiléf, Sklof, and Kopos. The Swedish loss amounted to 260 dead (including General von Wrangel), and 1,220 wounded; the Russian to 119 killed, and 617 wounded.

It was a Swedish victory, but although the Russians had retired, they had gained one of their ends—that of weakening the Swedish forces, and when Peter, who was already on his way to the army, received the first news of the battle, and believed that a third of his troops had supported for some time the Swedish onset and had retired in good order, he was well satisfied. When he came to learn the details, he was angry over the bad conduct of some of Répnin's troops, especially of a new regiment, and, in spite of Répnin's protest, ordered a strict investigation, and the punishment of all offenders against good disci-

[1] Where Napoleon crossed, on November 17, 1812.

pline. The Swedes, on the contrary, spoke well of the behaviour of Répnin's men; the greatest fault of the Russians lay in the bad disposition of their troops. Charles considered this battle one of the best of his exploits, but it was the last. Here his star began to pale.

Four days after the battle of Golóftchin, it was decided at a council of war not to attempt to defend Mohiléf, but to abandon it to the enemy, and to concentrate at Gorki, north-east of Mohiléf, on the other side of the Dniéper, thus protecting the road to Smolénsk and Moscow. Charles occupied Mohiléf, and found there a sufficient amount of provisions to keep his troops for some time, while waiting the arrival of Lewenhaupt with 11,000 men and a train of necessary stores, provisions, and artillery. He also waited for the breaking out of the insurrection in the Ukraine. He was, however, too impatient to wait long, and crossed the Dniéper on August 16, and marched toward Tchírikof, on the river Sozh. The light Russian cavalry hovered about the Swedish advance, capturing and killing stragglers and destroying the roads and bridges. The summer was unusually rainy, the Swedes suffered much from the want of tents, and the provisions ran short, so that the soldiers were obliged to collect the grain from the fields and bruise it between stones. Disease was the consequence of the bad food and the bad weather, and there were no medicines. The Swedish soldiers said: 'We have only three physicians—Doctor Brandy, Doctor Garlic, and Doctor Death.' Peter and the main body of the Russian troops moved from Górki to Mstislávl, and Charles, getting tired of skirmishes, turned northward toward Mstislávl, and met the Russians at Dóbry on September 9.

This time the Russians, under Prince Michael Golítsyn and General Pflug, began the attack, and, after a two hours' hard fight, when the Swedes were reinforced, they retired in good order, having captured six Swedish standards. The Swedish loss in this sharply contested fight was 261 killed and 750 wounded. The Russians lost 210 and about 1,200 wounded.[1] Golítsyn received the order of St. Andrew for his bravery, and

[1] This battle is also called that of Malatítcha (Malatycza) or Tchérnaya Napa, from a little stream flowing through the moor where it was fought.

Peter wrote to Apráxin: 'I solemnly assure you that since I began to serve I have never seen such fire or such orderly conduct on the part of our soldiers (God grant it so in future as well!), and the Swedish king himself has not seen such an action in the course of this war. O God, do not take away Thy mercy from us for the future!'

After the affair of Dóbry, the Russians retreated northward, burning, as they passed, the town of Mstislávl. Charles followed them as far as the Russian frontier at Tatársk, which he marched along for some distance without crossing. On one occasion he ran great danger, in a sharp skirmish with the Russian cavalry. Charles had not believed that the same system of defence by devastating the country would be pursued in the Russian provinces, and had thought that, however he might treat Poland, the Tsar would not be indifferent to the sufferings and loss of his own subjects. But the Swedes now saw nothing but the flames and smoke of burning Russian villages, and news came that a whole forest had been hewn down, to obstruct the roads leading to Smolensk. Charles did what for him was unusual, —he asked for advice. In a council of war, Piper urged the imperative necessity of the junction with Lewenhaupt, who might be attacked and beaten by the Russians and lose his provisions. But considerations of prudence yielded to the hopes Charles had of his being joined by 20,000 Cossacks under Mazeppa; and, refusing to go back or to wait, he burned his superfluous baggage, and, on September 26, began his march southward, thus sacrificing Lewenhaupt, who was then on the Dniéper, near Sklof, only sixty miles away in a direct line, and who could have been met by a march of three days.

The idea of marching into the Ukraine had long been in the mind of Charles. He had let the proper time for a favourable peace go by. He had refused, from arrogance, to take the northern road to Livonia; he now found the eastern one to Smolénsk and Moscow difficult, if not impracticable; the southern road remained. He felt the need of allies, and counted on rebellions and insurrections. He expected, too, a strong diversion to be made on the northern frontier by General Lybecker.

When Lewenhaupt left the King's head-quarters, early in May, he had instructions to get ready all the men he could mus-

ter—about 11,000—a train of artillery and ammunition, stores and provisions enough to last his own men for twelve weeks, and the whole army for six weeks. The further order of the King, that he should start at the beginning of June and march to the Berezína, reached him so late that with all his diligence it was impossible for him to set out before July. The constant rains made the roads bad, the great train of waggons impeded him, and he arrived at Sklof on September 28, just in time to receive a courier who had left the King's army only twenty-four hours before, with orders (which, however, had been kept back for two days before being sent) to cross the Dniéper and the Sozh and march to Starodúb in the Ukraine. Lewenhaupt felt as though these orders were his death-blow, for between the Dniéper and the Sozh stood the whole Russian army. He would have preferred to keep on the western bank of the Dniéper, thus protected against the Russians, until a favourable opportunity came for joining the main army. He suspected ill-will or treachery at head-quarters in the delay attending his orders. Crossing the Dniéper at Sklof, keeping as far as he could from the Russians, and disseminating false reports of his whereabouts, after a march of seven days, impeded by bad roads and broken bridges, he arrived at Liésna, a few miles from Propóisk, and in one day more would have crossed the Sozh and have been comparatively safe. But on October 9 he was attacked by the Russians, who had followed him for several days, and on the previous afternoon had succeeded in outflanking him. All he could do was to send the greater part of the train on to Propóisk with a guard, and to prepare to fight. A fierce battle ensued, which lasted the whole afternoon, with no actual result, for both sides maintained their ground. When night came on, Lewenhaupt buried his artillery, burned the waggons which were still with him, used the horses for mounting his infantry, and pressed on to Propóisk. The trains sent thither had got into confusion, and as it was impossible to get them over the Sozh, on account of the destruction of the bridges, they also were burned, and Lewenhaupt was obliged, with the remains of his army, to follow the river until he found a ford. He finally succeeded in joining a portion of Charles's army, on October 21. The Russians, who had 14,000 men engaged, lost 1,100

killed and 2,856 wounded, while Lewenhaupt succeeded in bringing to Charles only about 6,000 men, out of the 11,000 with which he started from Riga. Over 3,000 had been taken prisoners; the remainder had died or had deserted; the stores, medicine, and ammunition, of which the Swedes had so much need, had been lost, and forty-four standards and seventeen guns had been captured. Charles had never appreciated rightly the military qualities of Lewenhaupt, and although he received him well on his arrival, he soon manifested a coolness toward him, gave him no command, and did not again during the campaign make use of his great experience. Perhaps the greatest effect of this battle was that it dispirited the Swedes and destroyed their self-confidence, and raised the hopes of the Russians, who believed that Lewenhaupt had a force superior in numbers to their own. Peter wrote: 'This victory may be called our first, for we have never had such a one over regular troops. In very truth, it was the cause of all the subsequent good fortune of Russia, for it was the first proof of our soldiers, and it put hearts into our men, and was the mother of the battle of Poltáva.'

To add to their misfortunes, the Swedes met with a great disaster in the north. Charles had relied on his great fleet to destroy that of the Tsar, and aid General Lybecker in an attack on Cronstadt and St. Petersburg. But the fleet could not be equipped, as, after raising and supplying the forces of Lybecker and Lewenhaupt, there was no money in the Swedish treasury. Only a small division, under Admiral Anckarstjerna, took the sea, but even that was detained by contrary winds at Reval, and was too weak to attack the Russian fleet, which was master of the Finnish Gulf. Admiral Count Botsis captured many small Swedish vessels, and landed a force of troops in Finland, who took Borgå and burned the vessels in the port. Lybecker was a man of very moderate capacities, who, for fully twenty years, had served as lieutenant. His personal bravery at the battle of Klissow, in 1703, pleased Charles, who advanced him far beyond his deserts, until he became major-general, baron, and commander-in-chief of the whole army in Finland. This army, consisting of 14,000 men, was not ready to take the field until the early part of September, and even then, though well

armed and equipped, had provisions only for some days. In spite of strong opposition, he succeeded in crossing the Neva, but did not dare attack St. Petersburg, which was too well fortified. Although it was only a week since he had left Viborg, his provisions were exhausted, and his troops were obliged to kill their horses for food. Partly through the misconduct of his own men, he was repulsed from the little fort of Ingris-Amund, and he then advanced aimlessly into Ingria, which the Russians laid waste before him, and finally succeeded in taking the small fortress of Koporié, where he found some provisions. Deceived by a false letter of Apráxin, wherein was mention of 40,000 men for the defence of St. Petersburg, Lybecker made for the sea-coast near Narva, and persuaded Admiral Anckarstjerna to take his troops across to Viborg. He was forced to kill or hamstring 6,000 horses, to burn his heavy baggage, and, on account of bad weather, to leave behind about 900 men, who defended themselves valiantly until nearly all were killed. The total loss of the Swedes in this undertaking was over 3,000 men, besides the horses and war material.

But just when the news of this victory, together with the defeat of Lewenhaupt at Liésna, had inspired Peter with the greatest confidence, he suddenly heard of the treachery of Mazeppa.[1]

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[1] Soloviéf, xv.; Fryxell, i., ii.; Ustriálof, iv.; Gólikof, iii., iv.; Sarauw.

LIV.

MAZEPPA'S TREACHERY.

Ivan Stepánovitch Mazeppa, the son of a petty nobleman of the orthodox faith from the western part of Little Russia, was born about 1645. The family was known in the country, and in 1597 one of his ancestors had, together with the unfortunate Hetman Naliváiko, been roasted alive by the Poles. A handsome youth, well educated in a Jesuit school, he was appointed page at the court of King Jan Casimir. Although the victories of the Cossacks had compelled the Poles to make a few concessions to the Little Russians, yet Catholic fanaticism was rampant, and the comrades of Mazeppa taunted him so often about his religion and his nationality that one day he impatiently drew his sword. Such an act in the royal palace was a capital offence, but the King, taking into account the circumstances of the case, merely exiled Mazeppa from the court. He withdrew to his mother's estate in Volynia, where he became engaged in an intrigue with the wife of a neighbouring nobleman, Falbowski. On one of his visits he was waylaid by the injured husband, was ignominiously stripped and bound to his horse. The spirited animal, frightened by the cuts of a whip and the firing of a pistol close to his ear, rushed furiously through woods and thickets, and brought his master home so torn and bleeding that he was hardly recognisable. Unable to meet his equals after such an adventure, Mazeppa sought a refuge among the Cossacks, where he took service first under the Hetman Tétera and subsequently under Doroshénko. As in addition to Polish and Russian he knew German and Latin, he soon rose to the important position of Secretary-General, and in 1674 was sent to the Cossacks of the Russian side of the Dniéper with a proposition of Doroshénko for annexation. Doroshénko afterwards sent

him to Constantinople to ask the aid of the Sultan, but he was captured by the Atamán of the Zaporovian Cossacks, who sent him to Moscow. The boyar Matvéief had charge of the examination, and was pleased with the bearing of Mazeppa, who professed himself favourably disposed to Russia, and tried to exculpate Doroshénko. He was released, presented to the Tsar, and sent back with friendly messages. He preferred, however, to remain with the Hetman Samoílovitch, and received permission to live in the Russian Ukraine. Samoílovitch confided to him the education of his children, and soon raised him to the dignity of Yesaúl General, the next rank after that of Hetman. He was frequently sent to Moscow on commissions, and while there succeeded in ingratiating himself with Prince Basil Golítsyn, who was at that time all powerful. Golítsyn and Matvéief, both of whom had respect for the education given in Poland and Little Russia, so far superior to that of Moscow, were captivated by Mazeppa's intelligence and manners. When Samoílovitch became the scapegoat of the unfortunate Crimean campaign in 1687, and was deposed, Golítsyn made Mazeppa his successor.[1]

Mazeppa continued his friendly relations with Golítsyn, and at the time of the overthrow of Sophia had just arrived at Moscow for the purpose of presenting himself personally to the Government. As we have already related, he succeeded in clearing himself of any complicity with Sophia, and in ingratiating himself with Peter.[2] Political necessities demanded Mazeppa's retention as Hetman, and the charm of his manners and the apparent simplicity and openness of his character inspired Peter with a confidence in him that remained unshaken in spite of rumours and accusations, until he actually went over to the Swedish camp.

It is in the sixteenth century that we must fix the rise of the Cossacks as a class. In the middle of that century they made their appearance on the outskirts of Russia in most opposite localities: on the confines of Poland, on the Don and the southern border, and on the extreme east. They were at first nothing but the vagabonds and men not bound to the soil by

[1] See Vol. I., p. 159.

[2] Ibid., p. 190.

the fixed ties of serf labour, such as were to be found in every village. Following the Russian proverb, "The fish seeks where it is deepest and the man where it is best," they made their way to the confines of the empire to get rid of compulsory work for the lords of the soil and to be free in the widest sense of the term. The word Cossack, or Kazák, is of Tartar origin, meaning, first, a free, homeless vagabond, and then one of the partisans and guerilla warriors formed out of such vagabonds. This signification of the name was never quite lost, and even when the Cossacks were preëminently the military colonies and brotherhoods on the frontiers, their name was in popular parlance given to robber bands.[1] The Cossacks were a characteristic manifestation of the time—a national protest against the governmental forms which did not satisfy the Russian ideal. The ideal of the Cossacks was full personal freedom, unconditional possession of the soil, an elective government, popular justice administered by themselves, complete equality between the members of the society, contempt of all privileges of rank or birth, and mutual defence against external enemies. The neighbourhood of the Tartars and of the other hostile tribes compelled the Cossacks to preserve a military organisation. The fact that their enemies were non-Christian only increased their own love of religion and orthodoxy. That they themselves were discontented with the form of government in Russia made them always more or less hostile and suspicious of the central administration, even where they admitted its authority.

The development of the Cossacks in Little Russia—in what was called the Ukraine or borderland—was chiefly due to Dashkovitch and Landskoronski, Starosts or chiefs of towns in that region, who formed the inhabitants into a military class always ready to repulse the Tartar incursions. The successor of Dashkovitch, the enterprising Dimitri Wisniowiecki, received all volunteers who came to him, grew famous by the heroic victories of his Cossacks over the Crim Tartars, and became almost independent of the Polish crown. His plans for destroying the Crim Tartars failed through the obstinacy of the Tsar Iván the Terrible. In 1563 the Cossacks had almost conquered Moldavia,

[1] Such bands of robbers always gave themselves a Cossack organisation.

A COSSACK CONQUEROR.

when Wisniowiecki was treacherously captured by the Turks, tortured and killed.

The abundance of fish and wild animals below the long and dangerous cataracts of the Dniéper, which made navigation impossible, had early led many adventurers to settle themselves there in half military wise. Sitcha or Setch, which these Zaporovians (so called from their living *za poróghi*, beyond the cataracts) built on an island of the Dniéper, served at first simply as a refuge; but the peculiar rules of the brotherhood, for such it must be called, which made orthodoxy and celibacy obligatory, which forbade the presence of women in the settlement, which imposed severe tests on the candidate for initiation, and which put a premium on bravery and endurance, all tended to excite a martial spirit. During the first one hundred and fifty years of their existence the Zaporovians numbered scarcely more than three thousand, but at the end of the sixteenth century Setch could boast as many as twenty or thirty thousand braves.

In this way the Cossacks divided into two branches, those of the towns, or of the Ukraine, who on account of their settled habitations were obliged to recognise the Polish authority, and the Zaporovians, who, although they owed a nominal allegiance to the Hetman of Little Russia, were practically independent, siding sometimes with the Turks, sometimes with the Tartars, and sometimes with their own countrymen. A close bond of union was nevertheless kept up between them, and many of the younger, braver and more restless from the Ukraine would go to Setch to pass a few years or their whole life among the Zaporovians.

The Polish nobles did much to extend the Cossacks, not foreseeing what dangerous results would follow for Poland. They themselves were Cossack leaders, and took them on their expeditions, and even the Polish kings used their services. Stephen Batori registered the Cossacks, put them under the command of a Hetman, and divided them into six regiments. The registered Cossacks, who had the freehold of their lands and paid no taxes, were 6,000 in number, and the Government refused to recognise any others. This did not suit the popular view. All the common people sought to be Cossacks

or freemen, and one method of obtaining this object was by running away to Sitcha. The Polish serf was in every sense of the word a slave, so entirely was he in the power of his lord. Where, as in the Ukraine, his lord was generally of an alien race and of another religion, his fate seemed doubly hard. When, therefore, he saw in his immediate neighbourhood a free and independent class of his countrymen, he naturally tried to join them and get for himself the same rights. The runaway peasant, on returning from the Zaporovians, no longer wished to obey his lord, but claimed a right to the land on which he had lived and worked, and to be considered in every way as a Cossack. The proprietors caught such runaways when they could, and even put them to death. If persecuted in their former homes, there were always other lords who, for the sake of their service, were glad to give them protection and land. But on the slightest provocation they were as willing to treat their new protector in the same way as their former lord. The registered Cossacks showed no desire to limit their class, and in this way the actual number of Cossacks greatly exceeded the legal number. The lists were inspected from time to time, and such newcomers were stricken off; they then collected themselves into bands, elected their Hetmans, and continued to call themselves Cossacks, and although legally they were considered mere marauders, yet the nobles at times used them in their wars with Muscovy, Sweden and Turkey.[1]

The tendency of the people to become Cossacks received a religious colouring, and in their own eyes a moral consecration. After the union of the orthodox with the Catholic Church in Lithuania and Poland, the Russian proprietors rapidly went over to Catholicism, losing at the same time their nationality and becoming Poles in feeling. The townspeople and serfs accepted the union only on compulsion, and did not become accustomed to it for generations. In the Ukraine, where the people were bolder and less submissive, the Union made little progress. The registered Cossacks, not fearing the landed proprietors, refused to receive it. The self-styled Cossacks hated

[1] In 1646 over 2,000 Cossacks went to France and served in the siege of Dunkirk.

it still more, as one of the marks of the hated rule of the lords. In this way the orthodox religion became for the Russians of the Ukraine an ensign of freedom and opposition to the nobility.

The concurrent testimony of all contemporary writers shows that at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, the poor peasants of this region were reduced to a most miserable condition by the tyranny of their masters. Nevertheless, nothing is said to have weighed so much upon them as the power of the Jews. The proprietors had frequently mortgaged their lands to Jews, or employed them as stewards and overseers with full powers of lordly rule. In addition to all the more common kinds of exaction and tyranny, these Jewish overseers profited by the fact that the village churches were the property of the master, and imposed taxes on baptisms, marriages, and funerals, and every religious service. The complaints of the peasantry against Jewish rule and exactions are handed down to this day in popular songs, and the traditions of three centuries undoubtedly have an influence on popular feeling still in those regions.

With the impulse given by the Zaporovians rebellion succeeded to rebellion, accompanied on both sides by the most frightful barbarities. The Cossacks of the Ukraine turned their eyes to Moscow, the head of orthodoxy. Finally, under the lead of Bogdán Khmelnítzky, they succeeded in becoming *de facto* independent of Poland, and put themselves under the protection of the Tsar. This was in 1654.

With time, with circumstances, with the increase of wealth, and with the tendency to a more settled life, great changes had taken place in Little Russia. There had come into existence a land-owning class and a class of peasants who cultivated the great estates, whose interests were opposed to those of the genuine Cossacks, the adventurous fighting class. The Cossacks, supported and aided by the Zaporovians, envied the rich and the powerful, wished to break up the great estates, and to reintroduce the primitive democratic equality. The colonels and leaders, many of whom had managed to get hold of large estates when the Polish landlords had been driven out, chafed at their subjection to the Hetman, but at the same time wished to be independent of the Cossacks of the army. They, there-

fore, willingly assisted the Russians in registering the Cossacks, and thus prevented their increasing beyond a fixed number, so as to keep as many workmen as possible on their estates. The peasantry suffered from the exactions both of the landowners and of the fighting Cossacks, but sympathised rather with the latter. They all wished to leave their own condition of life and become free Cossacks. The townspeople leaned towards any strong government that would protect them. Some were for the Poles and some for the Russians. Mazeppa, with his Polish education and habits, naturally inclined to the side of the proprietors as against the purely military element, and in doing so not only carried out the views of the Moscow Government, but obtained support from it, and was able to bring in additional Streltsi and troops for his protection. He thus succeeded in maintaining his rule without any open outbreak; but, nevertheless, during the whole time of his Hetmanship Little Russia was in a continual state of ferment. The bonds which then united Little Russia to Moscow were not of the strongest. The Little Russians, though possessing strong religious sympathies—for their attachment to the orthodox Church was as strong as ever—had not yet come to look upon the 'Moscols,' as they called them, as their own countrymen. Considerable autonomy still existed, and the general desire was for independence. The Russian protection had been accepted simply as a means of being secure from the Polish yoke; but none of the Hetmans since the union with Russia had ever been unwilling to coquet with Poles, Tartars, and Turks when there had seemed a chance of freeing themselves from Russian supremacy without coming under the strict rule of another country. The Russian union had brought its disadvantages as well as its advantages. Taxes had increased, fortifications had been erected on Cossack territory, Russian troops occupied portions of the country, and the military autonomy of the land had been infringed.

It seemed impossible for a Hetman to retain long his popularity with the democratic Cossacks. He was always accused of yielding too much to the Russians, and at the same time there were constant intrigues for his place. Personal and political animosities sometimes took the form of denunciations at

COSTUMES OF LITTLE RUSSIA.

Moscow. Výgofsky and Bruchovétsky, in spite of accusations, had been trusted by the Moscow Government, and both had betrayed it. Mnogogriéshny had fallen the victim of his denunciations, and Samoílovitch, the only Hetman who was thoroughly devoted to Russian interests, had been sacrificed to save Golítsyn's reputation.

Mazeppa succeeded, as we have said, in retaining the confidence of the Tsar. Little credence was given to the accusations frequently brought against him of treason and of secret correspondence with the Poles. Even as early as 1689 Mazeppa had been accused of correspondence with King Jan Sobieski for the reunion of Little Russia with Poland. There was certainly a correspondence of some sort, but some of the letters were forged, and Mazeppa sent to Moscow those which he received from Szumlianski, Bishop of Lemberg. The persons implicated were surrendered to him for punishment, and through this he succeeded in getting some of his worst enemies sent to Siberia, and the number of Russian troops increased.[1] In 1691 Petrik, a hot-headed and active Cossack connected by marriage with Kotchubéy, the Secretary-General of the Cossacks, fled to the Zaporovians, and afterwards to the Khan of the Crim Tartars, carrying with him some important papers. He endeavoured to do what Khmelnítzky had done before him, raise the Zaporovians and bring the Tartars into the Ukraine, promising to free the Little Russians and to exterminate the Jews and all the nobility and rich people. The Jews were in special disfavour, partly as usurers and money-lenders, and partly as farmers of the liquor traffic. Mazeppa sent rich presents and great promises to the Zaporovians, and Petrik, when he raised the standard of insurrection, could enlist under it only some of the more headstrong Cossacks and a very few Tartars. He was repulsed without difficulty, and Mazeppa earned the gratitude of Moscow, to which he had a still greater right on account of his action with regard to spirit-farming. The farming of the liquor traffic was suspended for a year on trial, and taxes were imposed to meet the necessary deficiencies in the revenue. At the end of this time the population was glad enough to return

[1] See Vol. I., p. 241.

to the old system. Indirect taxes seemed to press on them so much more lightly than direct imposts.

A more dangerous rival and enemy of Mazeppa was Semen Paléi. After the death of Doroshénko, the population of the right bank of the Dniéper had been transferred to the Russian side, and by the treaty between Russia and Poland this region was to be left waste and uninhabited. The Poles very soon thought that it would be to their benefit to re-establish Cossacks in this region. No sooner had they done so than the Cossacks showed their natural tendency of opposing everything that was Polish and aristocratic. Paléi led this sentiment, and used his influence to separate from Poland and to join the rest of Little Russia under Muscovite protection. This he endeavoured to do through the mediation of Mazeppa; but the Russian authorities had no wish to quarrel with Poland, and refused these offers. The Poles and Cossacks fought against each other with all the barbarity of indiscriminate slaughter and hideous executions which marked the warfare of that region and that day. Paléi and his comrade Samus were driven out of some of their strongholds, but still kept possession of the town and province of Biélaya Tsérkof. Mention has already been made of the efforts of the Poles to regain possession of this province. Paléi was again and again summoned by Russia to submit to the Poles, and was urged to go first to the Zaporovians and then come to Russia, but he obstinately refused. Mazeppa finally crossed the Dniéper, enticed Paléi into his camp, took him prisoner, and gave him up to the Russians, who sent him to Siberia. Mazeppa had a difficult part to play, for his own subjects all sympathised with Paléi and the rebellious Cossacks of the other side, and he had himself befriended Paléi, and had indeed always advised the Tsar to accept his offers of submission, and occupy this country which had been ceded to Poland. His action, therefore, in arresting Paléi was viewed with great satisfaction by Peter. It was another proof of his unswerving loyalty, which was further shown in 1705, when, on receiving a letter from King Stanislas, he at once sent it to the Tsar with complaints that his enemies should thus for the fourth time dishonour him by their suspicions that he could be unfaithful to Russia.

It was not long before Mazeppa was again denounced, this time by a domestic enemy, the Judge-General Kotchubéy, with whom there had been a family quarrel. Kotchubéy had two daughters—Anna, the widow of Mazeppa's nephew, and Matréna, who was his godchild. Mazeppa was then a widower, and made proposals of marriage to Matréna, who was desperately in love with him. As such a marriage was against the laws of the Church, Kotchubéy opposed it, and his wife began to treat the girl so harshly that she found it impossible to live longer at home, ran away, and took refuge with Mazeppa. Wishing to avoid scandal, the Hetman sent her back to her father, as he afterwards wrote to her: 'Although I love no one on earth as much as you, and it would have been for me a happiness and joy to have had you come and live with me, I foresaw what the end of it might be, especially with such opposition and hatred on the part of your relatives. There would have been condemnation by the Church because we lived together; and what should I then have done with you? I should have been very sorry if you had had cause to complain of me afterwards.' Matréna's situation on returning home was still worse than before, and she kept up a secret correspondence with Mazeppa, whose love letters are interesting and curious. While assuring her of his love, he advised her as a last resource to take the veil in a convent. Kotchubéy and his wife noised their troubles abroad, and finally, in reply to his accusations and complaints, Mazeppa wrote: 'Pan Kotchubéy: you write to tell about a heart's grief of yours, but you might better complain of your proud grandiloquent wife, whom, as I see, you will not or cannot control. She, and no one else, is the cause of your grief, if you have any. St. Barbara ran away from her father, not to the house of the Hetman, but to the woods, to shepherds, and to steep rocks, on account of her fear. You will never be free from your grief, and settled in prosperity, as long as you do not drive out of your heart that rebellious spirit of yours, which is not in you so much by nature as inspired by your wife. And if any misfortune has happened to you or to your house, you should complain only of the accursed pride and haughtiness of yourself and your wife. For sixteen years have I passed over your offences, many though they were and grievous

and worthy of death, but, as I see, my patience and goodness have been all to no end. In your pasquiling letter you speak of an error, but I know and understand nothing except that you yourself fall into error when you listen to your wife. As is said in the proverb: "When the tail rules the head goes wrong." ' To Matréna he intimated that he would long ago have punished Kotchubéy but for her sake.

Kotchubéy in revenge resolved to accuse Mazeppa of treason. A monk whom he sent to Moscow for that purpose was arrested and examined, but, as he could adduce no facts, the matter was not pursued further. Kotchubéy then obtained the aid of his brother-in-law Iskra, the Colonel of Poltáva, who denounced Mazeppa to the Russian Colonel Ósipof, commanding at Akhtýrka. The official reports reached the Tsar towards the end of March, 1708, and he at once wrote to Mazeppa to express his entire disbelief in the whole story, as he was sure it was a machination of his enemies. Meanwhile, Kotchubéy had sent another denunciation to Moscow, and of this Peter also informed the Hetman. At Mazeppa's request, Kotchubéy, Iskra, and Ósipof, with several others, were arrested and taken to Vitébsk, where Kotchubéy, in a long document containing thirty-three points, accused Mazeppa of negotiations with the Swedes, and of treason against the Tsar. Annexed to this accusation was a patriotic ballad written by Mazeppa.[1] Neither this ballad nor any of the points of accusation stood the slightest examination, and, on the application of the usual torture, Kotchubéy admitted that his accusation was false, and dictated by his desire for revenge. The Tsar thereupon sent Kotchubéy and Iskra to Mazeppa, and early in the morning of July 25 they were beheaded in the presence of the whole army of Cossacks and of Little Russians. Their property was confiscated.

Although the specific denunciations of Kotchubéy were false and unsupported by proof, yet during this whole time Mazeppa was engaged in secret correspondence with the Swedes.

[1] This ballad, of the kind called *duma* in Little Russia, written in short trochaic lines, deplores the unhappy condition of Mother Ukraine, whose sons are divided by their own passions, and who suffers now from the Pole and now from the Russian. It exhorts the Little Russians to union, to the defence of the country and of the faith.

The Cossacks sent to the war had never been of great service, and had always got into difficulties with the Russian officers. Their complaints were loud and frequent, and in 1705, when the two Cossack regiments were with the Russian troops near Grodno, Mazeppa received a long letter from Górlenko, their commander, complaining of the rudeness and insults of the Russians, and of an order that was said to be issued sending the Cossack regiments to Prussia to study the art of war and to be turned into regular dragoons. On reading this letter, Mazeppa, in a fit of natural indignation, said to his trusty secretary, Orlik: 'What good can we hope for in return for our faithful services? Another man in my place would not have been such a fool as to have refused the offers of Stanislas.' Not long after this Mazeppa accepted an invitation from Prince Wisniowiecki to be godfather to his daughter. There he met and became intimate with the Princess Dolska, the mother of his host. The confidential conversations at the christening—conversations from which politics were not excluded—brought about a correspondence in cipher. In some of the letters of the Princess there were allusions of such a nature that Mazeppa found it necessary to explain them to Orlik. When in one letter she urged him to begin what he intended, and assured him that all his wishes would be granted, and that he would soon have the support of the whole Swedish army, Mazeppa affected great indignation at the idea of an old woman thinking she could snare such 'a wily old bird' as he was, and exclaimed at the folly it would be for him under the present circumstances to abandon the living for the sake of the dead, and leave one shore without being able to reach the other. He ordered Orlik to reply: 'I beg you to stop this correspondence, which can ruin me in life, honour, and substance. Do not hope or imagine that in my old age I can act disloyally to the Tsar.' For a long time there were no letters, but finally the Princess spread a snare which caught the 'wily old bird.' She wrote from Lemberg that she had been at another christening, and had sat at dinner between Sheremétief and Rönne, who had let her understand that Menshikóf was digging a pit for him, in order to be elected Hetman in his stead. At this Mazeppa lost control of himself, and began to recount all the indignities which he

and the Cossacks had suffered since the war began, and especially his personal difficulties with Menshikóf, and the hints he had so often had that the Russians intended to turn the Ukraine into a regular Russian province, and try to satisfy him with the title of Prince. He answered the Princess, with thanks for her friendship and her warning. While at Kíef in 1707 Mazeppa received another letter from King Stanislas, enclosed in one from his friend. He was startled, and let it fall from his hands, and exclaiming, 'Oh, cursed old woman, you will ruin me!' sat for a long while in deep thought. Then turning to Orlik, he said: 'I am struggling in my mind whether to send this letter to the Tsar or not. Let us advise about it to-morrow, and meanwhile you go home and pray to God. Perhaps your prayers will avail more than mine, because you live in more Christian wise. God knows that I am doing nothing for myself, but only for all of you and your wives and children.' Going home and getting some money, though it was late at night, Orlik went to the monasteries and distributed alms to the monks, nuns, and poor people who were sleeping in the outbuildings. He got at first nothing but curses for his kindness; they took him for a thief. When Orlik returned the next morning Mazeppa was holding in his hand a bit of the true Cross, and exclaimed: 'I protest before the all-seeing God that not for my private profit, nor for higher honours, nor for greater riches, nor for any other aims of mine, but for all of you, for your wives and children, for the general good of our poor mother country the Ukraine, of the Zaporovian army and of the Little Russian people, and for the increase and extension of the rights and liberties of the army, I wish by the aid of God to act so that you shall not be ruined either by Moscow or by Sweden.' Then kissing the Cross, he swore Orlik to secrecy, and dictated an answer to Stanislas, giving various reasons why he could not obey his commands, but promising at the same time to do nothing which would be harmful to his interests or to those of the Swedes.

Mazeppa's plan had been to preserve as far as possible his neutrality, making excuses for not taking actively the part of the Russians, and not espousing the side of the Swedes, until he saw that Charles was sure to win. He had reckoned that the

Swedish invasion would be turned towards the north and towards Moscow. Now, when he discovered that the march of Charles was towards Little Russia, his combinations were all disturbed. He must take sides either with the Russians or the Swedes, and in any case there was danger that the Ukraine would be the battle-field, and that the Cossacks would be ground to pieces between the millstones. On ascertaining the movements of the Swedes, Peter had ordered Mazeppa to send a force of Cossacks to fall on the rear of the Swedes, and suggested that it would be well for their Hetman to take command of this force in person. Mazeppa excused himself on the ground of his gout and frightful pains which prevented him from riding. He was very successful in feigning illness, and not unfrequently, for reasons of his own, covered himself with plasters and passed whole days in bed. The belief in his feeble health made his rivals prefer waiting to plotting. At the same time he informed the Tsar of the immediate danger which might arise if he left the country, as it was in the most unsettled condition. There was no one he could leave behind of whom he felt sure. As Peter feared the effect in Little Russia of the Swedish proclamations, he allowed Mazeppa to stay at home; but after the battle of Liésna, when the Swedes were already near the Little Russian frontier, he asked him to come to a conference in the town of Starodúb, and, to his answers about the difficulties he expected with the Cossacks, told him to appoint some one to take his place and come without fail. Mazeppa called together four Cossack colonels who had already on several occasions complained to him of the Russians, expressed their fears of what might happen if they came into the country, and begged him to think of the general safety. He asked them whether he should go to Starodúb. 'Do not go,' said Lomikófsky, 'otherwise you will ruin yourself and us and all the Ukraine. We have already so many times begged you to send to Charles, but you have always delayed, and have literally slept. Here now are the Russians coming into the country,—to the ruin and death of us all, and the Swedes are here too!' Mazeppa upbraided them, threatened to leave them to their fate and go himself to the Tsar, but finally grew milder, and asked, 'Shall I send to the King or not?' 'Send by all means;

it was time long ago,' they replied. Mazeppa then ordered Orlik to write a letter in Latin to Count Piper, in which he declared his joy at the arrival of the Swedes, begged for assistance to free the whole of Little Russia from the heavy Muscovite yoke, and promised to prepare a ferry across the Désna. At the same time he sent his nephew, Voinarófsky, to Menshikóf to say that he was almost at the point of death, and was going from Batúrin to Borzna to receive extreme unction from the Archbishop of Kíef. 'This news has made me very sad,' wrote Menshikóf to the Tsar; 'first, because I have not succeeded in seeing him, which it is very necessary for me to do; and, secondly, because I am sorry for such a good man if God does not relieve him from his disease. With regard to that, he writes that his gout has brought on an attack of epilepsy.' Menshikóf resolved to go to Borzna and see the Hetman on his sick bed. At nearly the same time Mazeppa received a message that the Swedes would be the next day on the Désna, and Voinarófsky, who had left Mazeppa's camp in the night, arrived to say that Menshikóf had resolved to see him at all hazards. Without waiting for Menshikóf, Mazeppa left Borzna, and arrived late at night at Batúrin. Having given orders to defend that town, he set out the next day with the Cossack chiefs, many officers, and an escort of 1,500 men, straight for the Swedish camp. On arriving there, he took an oath with his followers that he accepted the Swedish protection, not for any private profit of his own, but for the good of his fatherland and of the Cossacks.

On his way to Borzna, Menshikóf heard that Mazeppa had gone to Batúrin, and turned towards that town, but was refused admittance. This made him suspect something wrong, and his suspicions were confirmed when he heard that Mazeppa had crossed the Désna. Soon some Cossack officers came to his camp to ask for protection against the Hetman, who had gone over to the enemy.

Peter was with the main army on the Désna watching the movements of the enemy, when, on November 7, he received Menshikóf's letter announcing the treason of Mazeppa. He answered it the same night, ordering him to take precautionary measures against the spread of the rebellious spirit, to prevent

the Cossacks from joining the enemy, and to keep on good terms with the colonels and other leaders of the Cossacks, and to persuade them to elect a new Hetman. The next day he issued a manifesto to the Little Russians announcing that Mazeppa had treacherously deserted to the Swedes, 'in order to put the land of Little Russia as before under the dominion of Poland, and to turn over the churches and the monasteries to the Uniates.' To Apráxin, who had just informed him of his victory over Lybecker, he wrote: 'Although it is against my conscience to write anything bad to you in return for your good news, yet necessity compels me to tell you that Mazeppa has turned out a new Judas, for, after being loyal to me for twenty-one years, now, when he is almost in his coffin, he has become a traitor and betrayer of his people. Indeed, although this is bad business, yet he did not do it with the approval of all, but only with five persons, and the people here, after hearing of it, complained of him with tears to God, and are indescribably bitter against him, since, as we hear, his life was apart from God. Therefore we hope in God that he has done more harm to himself than to him whom he intended to injure.'

It was decided in a council of war to attack Batúrin, the Cossack capital, before Mazeppa and the Swedes should have time to reach it. Menshikóf, who had come to Peter's camp for conference with him, hastened to Batúrin, where Prince Dimítri Golítsyn was waiting. The Cossacks refused to allow the Russians to enter before the new Hetman was elected, and tried to prevent them from crossing the river. This was on November 11. That night the garrison sent word to Menshikóf that they were faithful to the Tsar, and would allow his troops to enter, but demanded three days for their free exit. Menshikóf replied the next morning, refusing to give them the time demanded, but telling them to come out at once without fear and no one would harm them. They at first wished to kill the messenger, but finally let him go with the cry, 'We will all die here, but we will not let the Tsar's troops come in.' Early the next morning (November 13) Menshikóf ordered the assault, and in two hours the town, which was badly fortified, was taken. No one was spared except the leaders, who were reserved for punishment. The arms were kept for the Govern-

ment, but all the property of the inhabitants was given up to the soldiery. The whole town, including the stores so necessary to the Swedes, was burnt to the ground. Batúrin as a stronghold ceased to exist. It is now but a village.

The ruin of Batúrin had a very salutary effect upon the discontented spirits among the Cossacks. It entirely baffled the plans of Mazeppa. On the very day when the Swedes crossed the Désna, Peter went quietly to Glúkhof, where the metropolitan of Kíef, two archbishops, the four colonels who had remained faithful, and the leaders of the Cossacks were assembled. An election was held according to the consecrated usage, and Skoropádsky, the Colonel of Starodúb, on the wish of Peter, was chosen Hetman. On the same day, November 18, Mazeppa was publicly excommunicated and cursed. To impress this more on the minds of the Cossacks, his portrait was taken into the church, the blue ribbon of St. Andrew was taken from it, and it was then dragged through the streets and hung on the gallows, after which the traitors captured at Batúrin were executed. The ceremony of the anathema of Mazeppa was repeated at Moscow a few days afterwards, and his name was formally added to that of the false Dimítri, Sténka Rázin, and others in the comminatory service read in the Russian churches in the first week of Lent.[1] The proclamation announcing Mazeppa's excommunication, and threatening other traitors with the same fate, was affixed to the doors of all the churches in Little Russia.

Of those who had gone over with Mazeppa to the Swedes, Colonel Danílo Apóstol and Colonel Galagán soon abandoned him and were pardoned by the Russians. Apóstol brought a verbal message purporting to be from Mazeppa, that he would deliver up 'the chief personage' into Russian hands if he were assured of pardon and of being restored to his position as Hetman, under the guarantee of foreign Powers. A favourable answer was returned, but nothing further was heard from Mazeppa. Later on other Cossacks deserted from the Swedish camp, until Mazeppa was almost the only one left. The Swedes therefore profited little by his adherence.

[1] This ceremony took place until 1869, when the names of Dimítri and Mazeppa were dropped.

Peter issued a manifesto inviting the Zaporovian Cossacks to obey the orders of the new Hetman Skoropádsky, and both sides distributed proclamations throughout the Ukraine in order to quiet or rouse the population. Charles, on his side, declaimed against the heavy Muscovite yoke: Peter replied with accounts of the maltreatment of the Cossack prisoners by the Swedes, of the insults offered to orthodox churches, and of the intention to compel the Cossacks to embrace the Lutheran and Uniate religions. Charles then talked about the Russian attacks on the liberties of the Ukraine, and spoke of negotiations of Peter with the Pope, the permission given to the Jesuits to have schools and churches in Russia, and of the Tsar's purpose to become a Catholic after the war. Peter invited the Little Russians to put all sorts of obstacles in the way of the enemy, to leave him without roof, food, or fire, and offered a reward of 2,000 rubles for every general taken prisoner, of 1,000 rubles for every colonel, proportionately for the other officers, of five rubles for every common soldier, and of three rubles for every dead body brought in. The manifestoes of Charles and the 'universals' of the fallen and anathematised Hetman had little or no effect. The peasants hid their property and their grain, captured the Swedes wherever they could, and drove off their horses. Peter wrote to Apráxin: 'The people of Little Russia stand, with God's help, more firmly than was possible to expect. The King sends enticing proclamations, but the people remain faithful and bring in the King's letters.' [1]

[1] Kostomárof, *Russian History*, v., vi.; id., *Bogdán Khmelnitzky;* Mérimée, *Les Cosaques d'Autrefois*, Paris, 1865; Soloviéf, xv.; Gólikof, iv.; Bántysh-Kámensky, *Dictionary of Remarkable Russians*, Moscow, 1836; Lundblad; Sarauw.

LV.

POLTÁVA.—1709.

The winter of 1708 and 1709 was memorable in European history. The Baltic was frozen, and heavily laden waggons crossed the Great Belt and the Öresund. In Central Europe the fruit-trees died. In France the courts had to be adjourned, and many men died of cold. The Rhone was frozen, and the canals of Venice were covered with ice. On the plains of the Ukraine, swept by the wind, the cold was still more intense. Birds fell dead as they flew through the air, and the snow in many places remained on the ground from October 1 to April 5.

Charles had hoped to obtain through Mazeppa possession of the stronghold of Starodúb and Nóvgorod-Séversk, but the expedition miscarried, partly owing to the incapacity of Lagercrona, a general who had been greatly favoured by Charles on account of his bravery, but who lacked military skill, and partly through the cunning and hesitation of Skoropádsky, the colonel of Starodúb, who did not feel sure as yet of the movements of Mazeppa, and obeyed literally his orders to open the gates to the first comers. These were Russians, to whom he had privately sent word. This, combined with the almost total failure of the Cossack rising, put the Swedes in a very difficult and dangerous position. Instead of the 20,000 Cossacks as expected, Mazeppa had brought but 1,500, who were subsequently joined by a small number of Zaporovians. The Swedes crossed the Désna with comparative safety, but with great difficulties on account of the steep banks, and on Mazeppa's advice marched southwards to Rómny, in a fertile district, where the troops were housed in the surrounding villages. The Russians moved in a parallel direction to Putívl, Súmy, and Lebedín. Charles, although in very comfortable quarters, could not en-

dure the close proximity of the Russians, and was annoyed at the frequent skirmishes. He therefore, in the hopes of a general battle, readily fell into a trap which the Russians prepared for him. Peter directed the greater part of his army to move towards the small town of Gadiátch, occupied by four Swedish battalions, as if to attack it. General Hallart, with another corps, went in the other direction, with instructions to take Rómny in case the Swedes withdrew. In spite of the fearful cold, and contrary to the advice of his best generals, Charles, on hearing of the movements, marched with all his forces to Gadiátch, with the expectation of making it a second Narva. The Russians had withdrawn in time, and the Swedes arrived at the town in the evening, hoping to find warm quarters inside; but haste made confusion, the gates became blocked up, and the greater part of the army was obliged to spend the night outside the walls in the open fields. Even when, on the next day, the Swedes succeeded in entering the town, their position was scarcely better. One-third of the city had been burnt to the ground, and there were not enough houses to shelter the troops. Nearly every building was turned into a hospital, where surgeons were at work cutting off frozen limbs. In this terrible march, from Rómny to Gadiátch, over 3,000 Swedes were frozen to death.

In revenge for the loss of Rómny, which had been occupied by General Hallart, Charles attacked the small village of Véprik, a few miles from Gadiátch. Although the garrison was too small for the place and the fortifications were in bad repair, the commander was undismayed by the threat of Charles to hang him to the gate if he resisted, and repulsed two assaults. When he finally surrendered, on favourable terms, the Swedes captured but 1,500 men and four cannon, having themselves lost nearly a thousand men and forty-eight officers. The remainder of the winter was spent in comparative quiet, broken by small skirmishes, which, whether they resulted favourably or unfavourably to the Swedes, had always the effect of reducing their forces. They had arrived at that state where the loss of every man counted.

The greatest success of the Russians was the suppression of the Zaporovian Cossacks and the destruction of their river-town

Setch. The Zaporovians had lately been aggrieved by the establishment of Russian forts in their immediate neighbourhood, and they also sympathised with the lower classes of the Ukraine in their feelings against the larger proprietors. Many of them decided to follow the guidance of Mazeppa and join the Swedes. To counteract this movement a Russian expedition was sent out by Menshikóf in the spring, and after sailing down the Dniéper from Kíef, and being met by a force of dragoons, succeeded in capturing and destroying Setch. Many Zaporovians were killed in the fight, others were taken prisoners, some were executed, and from this time on their strength was broken, although they nominally existed until they were finally abolished under Catharine II. in 1775.

During the early part of the winter the thoughts of the Tsar were much on his fleet at Vorónezh. The proximity of the Swedes made him anxious, and a report that the aim of Charles was to march to Vorónezh and burn the wharves and ships caused him to resolve to go there in person. He had previously given orders to Apráxin to be on his guard and to lay in a store of provisions, and had even written from Akhtýrka to have a good gardener sent to Taganróg, with plenty of seeds and plants. He had found time to criticise a Russian translation of a book on fortification, and, finding that there was to be an eclipse of the sun on the 11th of March, had asked the mathematical teachers at Moscow to calculate the duration and extent of the eclipse at Vorónezh and send him a diagram. On his journey he stopped at Biélgorod, to be godfather to Menshikóf's new-born son Peter Luke. In Vorónezh Peter found that the old vessels were in a bad state. Some of them had been repaired several times, and yet it was necessary to break them up. Peter, assisted by Apráxin, having in view a possible complication with the Turks, worked hard all winter at the repair and reorganisation of his navy. The physical fatigue of ship-carpentering, in which he again indulged, was a relief after the mental and moral anxieties which had so long weighed upon him. In days of leisure, when free from weightier occupations of State, he looked after the improvements of the government printing office, and the cleanliness of Moscow streets. The presence of Catherine, of his sister Natalia, and

of the Tsarévitch, and two visits from Menshikóf, satisfied his craving for love and companionship. In April, as soon as the ice broke up, he sailed down the Don to Azof and Taganróg, where he celebrated Easter. The recurrence of his old fever forced him again to shut himself up for three weeks and take a course of medicine.

The spring thaw and the melting of the great mass of snow on the steppes were as bad for the Swedish army as the severe winter. For days the soldiers had to stand in melted snow, with no possibility of drying themselves. The Swedes had gradually been pushed back into a small space between the rivers Psiol, Vórskla, and Dniéper. After the arrival of Lewenhaupt's troops the Swedish army numbered about 41,000 men, but it had now become reduced to 20,000, and of these more than 2,000 were ill or crippled. Only thirty-four cannon remained; the powder had greatly suffered, and needed to be dried. Yet amid the great distress, on April 11, shortly after the retreat from an unsuccessful expedition to Krasnói-kútch, Charles could write to Stanislas: 'I and the army are in very good condition. The enemy has been beaten and put to flight in all the engagements.' Was Charles, contrary to his character and his principles, writing intentionally an evident untruth in order to persuade Stanislas to come with General Krassow to his assistance, or was he blinded to the real condition of affairs? Piper, on the contrary, wrote to his wife: 'The campaign is so difficult and our condition so pitiful that such great misery cannot be described, and is beyond belief;' and again: 'The army is in an indescribably pitiful state.' The soldiers suffered greatly, not only from the weather, but from lack of clothing and from bad food. Complaints were great, and few expected to see their homes again. Nevertheless there were comparatively few desertions, and the Swedes remained loyal to the King personally, seeing that he shared their hardships, and believed that he was actuated by patriotism alone and that he felt this campaign necessary for the safety of Sweden. Yet they had to some extent lost their confidence in him. Charles exposed himself as ever to the enemy's bullets, but the soldiers, instead of being cheered by this, said to each other that the King wished to be killed, as he saw the bad end of the campaign.

The opinion of the generals was that it would be better to retire across the Dniéper, and either return to Poland or wait in a secure position until the force of General Krassow could join them. He could scarcely be expected before midsummer. Charles would hear nothing of this, and resolved to capture the town of Poltáva, the largest and most flourishing town of that region, more important, however, commercially than as a military position. At the beginning of the winter the capture of Poltáva would have been very easy, but at that time Charles, who objected to having winter quarters in a large town, paid no attention to it. In the meantime the Russians had succeeded in improving the defences, and had garrisoned it with 4,000 men. What made the attempt more dangerous now was that the Swedish forces were not large enough to surround the town on all sides, and the Russians could mass their forces on the other side of the river Vórskla.

A conversation between the King and Gyllenkrok, the Quartermaster-General, on this subject is very characteristic and important. Charles, on sending for some engineers to draw a plan, went to Gyllenkrok and said, 'You must get everything ready for an attack on Poltáva.'

Gyllenkrok. 'Does your Majesty intend to besiege Poltáva?'

Ch. 'Yes, and you must make the siege, and tell us on what day we will take the fortress. That is what Vauban used to do in France, and you are our little Vauban.'

G. 'God help us, with such a Vauban as I! But however great a man he may have been, I think that he would have been embarrassed if he had not had all he thought necessary for a siege.'

Ch. 'We have enough necessary military material to take such a wretched little fort as Poltáva.'

G. 'The fort is itself not strong, but the garrison of 4,000 men besides Cossacks makes it strong.'

Ch. 'If they see that we attack it in earnest, they will give up at the first cannon shot fired at them.'

G. 'That seems to me improbable. I rather believe that the Russians will defend themselves to the last. I see that your Majesty's infantry will be ruined.'

Ch. 'We shall not need to use our infantry, but will use Mazeppa's Zaporovians.'

G. 'I beg your Majesty, for God's sake, to reflect whether it is possible for such works to be carried on by a people that never have put their hands to such things; by men with whom no one can talk without an interpreter, and who will immediately run away if the work is difficult and they see their comrades fall.'

Ch. 'I assure you that the Zaporovians will do everything that we wish, and that they will not run away, for we are ready to pay them well for their work.'

G. 'But even if the Zaporovians allow themselves to be used for the work, your Majesty has no cannon which can make a breach in the palisades.'

Ch. 'If you can shoot one down, you can shoot a hundred down.'

G. 'I am also of that opinion, but I fear that when a hundred are shot down we shall have no more ammunition.'

Ch. 'You must not paint the thing so black. You are accustomed to sieges abroad, and consider such an undertaking impossible if you have not everything. But we must do with our little means what others do with great.'

G. 'I should be inexcusable if I made unnecessary difficulties, but I know that nothing is to be done with our cannon, and that therefore at last it will be the duty of the infantry to take the fortress, by which they will be entirely destroyed.'

Ch. 'I assure you no storm will be necessary.'

G. 'But I do not understand how the town can be taken, unless perhaps some extraordinary piece of good luck favours us.'

Ch. (*laughing*). 'Yes; we must do exactly what is extraordinary; by that we will get fame and glory.'

G. 'Yes. God knows that this is an extraordinary undertaking, but I fear that it will also have an extraordinary end.'

Ch. 'Make now all the preparations necessary, then you will see how soon all will be finished.'

Gyllenkrok then begged Piper and Hermelin, as well as Colonels Nieroth and Hård, to influence the King to give up his resolution. All was in vain. Charles impatiently said to Piper,

'Even if the good God should send down an angel from heaven to tell me to give up Poltáva, I would still remain standing here.' Gyllenkrok asked Rehnskjöld whether he could tell him why Poltáva was to be besieged. Rehnskjöld replied, 'The King wishes to have a little amusement till the Poles come.' 'It is a costly pastime,' said Gyllenkrok, 'which demands such a number of human lives. The King could find some better employment.' 'If his Majesty's will is so,' replied the Field Marshal as he rode away, 'we must be content with it.' The conscientious Gyllenkrok once more remonstrated with the King. 'I know,' he said, 'that the world judges every undertaking according to the result, and everybody will believe that it was I that advised your Majesty to make this siege. If it should miscarry, I humbly beg you not to put the blame of it on me.' 'No,' said Charles, 'you are not to blame for it. We take the responsibility on ourself, but you can be sure that the affair will have a speedy and lucky end.'

The siege was begun on May 12. Charles was astonished that the town did not yield at the first fire, and exclaimed, 'What! I really believe the Russians are mad, and will defend themselves in a regular way.' So they did for six long weeks, under the leadership of Colonel Velin, repelling assaults, making sorties, and destroying mines, assisted by the whole population of the town, great and small. Communications were always open with the Russian forces across the Vórskla by means of letters in hollow bombs. Menshikóf succeeded in throwing 900 men into the town. In the Swedish camp food was scarce, and there was great murmuring. The powder showed signs of giving out, and the stock of ammunition was so small that it was necessary to search the fields and pick up the Russian bullets.

Peter, warned in time by Menshikóf, made a hasty journey from Azof across the steppe, arrived on June 15, and took the chief command. New spirit, if that was wanting, was infused into the garrison; skirmishing was actively carried on, and by the capture of Suvigárof about 2,000 Russian prisoners, including the garrison of Veprík and the heroic Colonel Yurlof, were set free.

The need of the Swedes became at last so great, and their position so critical, that one night Charles sought the advice of

A SWEDISH BATTERY AT POLTAVA.

Lewenhaupt, whom he had until then treated with marked coolness. Lewenhaupt could counsel him nothing but to retire across the Dniéper. This he refused to do, but, feeling too uneasy to sleep, made Lewenhaupt follow him, and rode about aimlessly all night. In the early morning—it was his birthday, June 28—he approached the banks of the Vórskla, and rode up and down in full view of the Russians. Lewenhaupt's horse was shot under him, but the King, who liked to expose his generals in this way, refused to move. This was the very time chosen by the Russians for a feint of crossing. After they had been repulsed, Charles resumed his ride on the river's bank, and, in turning his horse, was hit in the foot by a bullet. Though pale and faint from loss of blood, he refused to go to his tent until he had given some orders in the trenches, and when, an hour afterwards, he had his wound dressed, his foot was much swollen. The ball had gone the whole length of his sole from heel to toe, breaking some of the small bones, which had to be extracted. The wound gangrened and produced a fever, and at one time it was thought necessary to amputate the leg, which might have endangered the King's life. Charles finally consented to take some medicine, which had the desired effect, threw him into an easy sleep, and reduced the inflammation of the wound.

The feigned crossing below the town when Charles was wounded was to cover another and successful crossing in force a few miles north of Poltáva. Here the Russians intrenched themselves, and then, under the cover of trenches and redoubts, drew gradually nearer to the Swedish positions. While the King was prostrated with fever two dispiriting messages arrived. One from Poland showed the want of harmony between Stanislas and General Krassow, who were still in the west of Poland, kept back by the Poles under Sieniawski, and the Russians under Goltz. The other, from Turkey, set forth that the Sultan would neither aid Charles directly, nor indirectly through the Tartars. The Russian lines were fast advancing, and an attack might be expected on any day. The King, though advised to raise the siege and retreat across the Dniéper, decided on forestalling the Russian attack. Rehnskjöld, who during the illness of the King had the chief command, called the generals together on the afternoon of July 8, and told them that the attack was

fixed for the next day. The troops were under arms by midnight, and, though the march of three miles was attended by some disorder, at daybreak on Tuesday, July 8, they stood in order of battle before the Russian lines. They numbered only 12,500 men: the remainder were in the hospital, were guarding the camp, or manning the intrenchments against the town. Only four cannon were used, partly on account of the distaste of Rehnskjöld for artillery, and partly on account of the lack of ammunition. The ground between the Russian camp and the town was much broken, but in front of the camp was a plain with thick woods on each side. Here the Russians had thrown up two lines of redoubts, one parallel to the camp, the other at right angles to it. It is difficult to convey a clear idea of the battle. Rehnskjöld had no plan for the attack. There was a quarrel and a reconciliation between him and Lewenhaupt. The Swedish powder was bad, and the men had to trust to their bayonets. The Russian army was four times as numerous. Charles was carried about on a litter to excite the ardour of his soldiers, but the horses which carried him were killed one after the other, and the litter was finally broken to pieces by a cannon shot. His drabants then carried him on their crossed pikes; but even his presence could do nothing against the Russian numbers and resistance. Peter was conspicuous among his troops, on his favourite horse Lizette, which had been sent to him by the Sultan. He received a bullet through his hat, and another in his saddle, while still another struck the ancient cross he wore round his neck. The Swedes seemed at first to get the advantage; they captured two or three half-finished redoubts, and could easily have penetrated into the Russian camp. But everywhere they were overpowered and surrounded—beaten in detail—and, though for two hours they fought with the fierceness of despair, they were forced either to surrender or to flee. Rehnskjöld, Schlippenbach, Rosen, Stackelberg, Hamilton, Horn, the Prince of Würtemberg, and over 2,800 officers and men were taken prisoners. The garrison of Poltáva made a sortie, and captured the Swedish trenches.

By noon the battle was over. The Swedes were at last beaten, and the Tsar and his victorious generals, tired and exhausted by the combat, sat down in their camp to dinner.

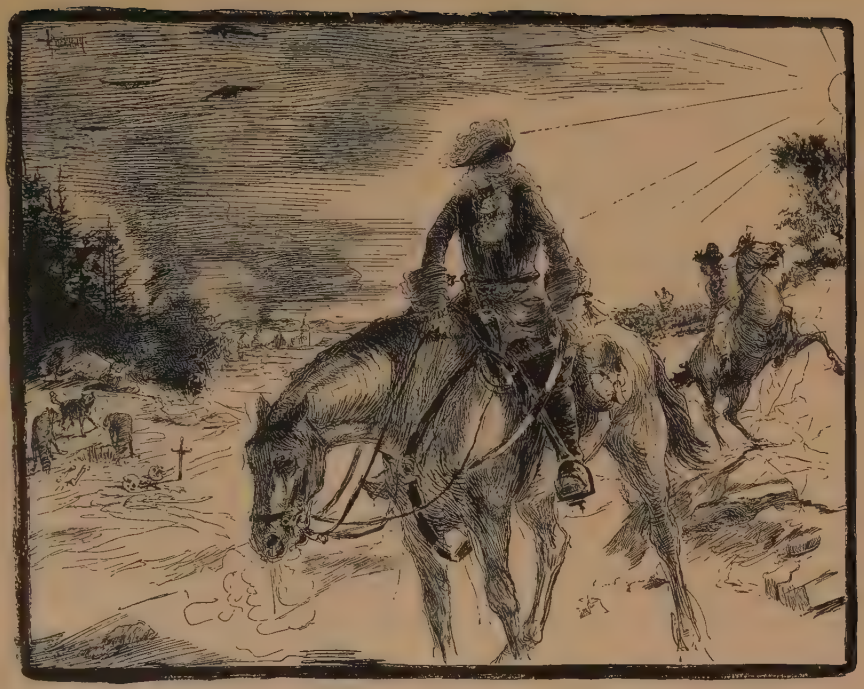
Peter received with kindness and courtesy his distinguished prisoners, giving special attention to Rehnskjöld. While they were at dinner, Piper came in, and place was made for him too. He, with the royal secretaries, finding the battle lost and no signs of the King, had gone to Poltáva and surrendered himself. The cannon thundered a salute, and the Tsar raising his glass proposed a toast to the health of his 'teachers in the military art.' 'Who are those teachers?' said Rehnskjöld. 'You, Messieurs Swedes,' replied the Tsar. 'And well have the pupils shown their gratitude to their teachers,' remarked the Field Marshal.

The dinner lasted till five o'clock before any one thought of pursuit, and it was not until evening that Prince Michael Golítsyn with the guard, and General Bauer with the dragoons, were sent to follow up the enemy. Charles had been protected by his drabants, and finally had been induced by Lewenhaupt to return to the camp and rally the remainder of the army. In spite of his wounded foot he had to ride, lying on the neck of his horse. They were almost cut off from their camp, and on passing their own intrenchments, then occupied by the Russians, the King's horse was killed and he was nearly taken prisoner. On arriving at the camp the King for the first time uttered a complaint, and asked to be taken from his horse and put in a carriage. His foot was dressed, and he ate a piece of cold meat, asking repeatedly for Rehnskjöld, for Piper, and for the young Prince of Würtemberg. 'All are taken prisoners,' was the reply. 'Prisoners with the Russians! Rather die among the Turks! Forward!' he exclaimed. Lewenhaupt was called in, and advised a repetition of what he had been obliged to do at Liesna, that is, to divide the horses, provisions, and ammunition among the men, to burn what was left, and to advance as soon as possible. Charles after a few moments' reflection sent Lewenhaupt away, and without further communication with him ordered the remaining troops to march down the Vórskla to the Dniéper, taking the cannon and all the baggage. The retreat began towards evening. The Russians pressed them so hotly that the next morning it was necessary to burn the heavy baggage and mount part of the infantry on the horses. On the afternoon of July 11 the Swedes arrived at the little

town of Perevolótchna, at the mouth of the Vórskla, where there was a ferry across the Dniéper; but the town had been burned and all the means of transport destroyed in the operations of the Russians against the Zaporovian Cossacks, and it was impossible to cross. After a long argument Lewenhaupt and Creutz persuaded the King to leave the army and take measures for his personal safety. Some boats and rafts were found on the Vórskla, and by means of these the King, Mazeppa, and about 1,000 men crossed the Dniéper. Charles took with him part of the army treasure, consisting of the military contributions levied in Saxony, which had been almost untouched. The remainder was to be divided among the troops. Mazeppa had also two kegs of ducats. The Zaporovians, being expert swimmers, were very useful in aiding the crossing, and especially in taking over the horses. The King, with the Russian cavalry in hot pursuit, rode as fast as he could to the Bug, where half his escort was captured, and he barely escaped. Thence he went to Otchakóf and Bender, on the Dniester, and for five years remained the guest of Turkey. Mazeppa died at Várnitza, a village near Bender, on March 31, 1710, and was buried in the old church of St. George, on the high bank of the Danube, at Galatz.[1]

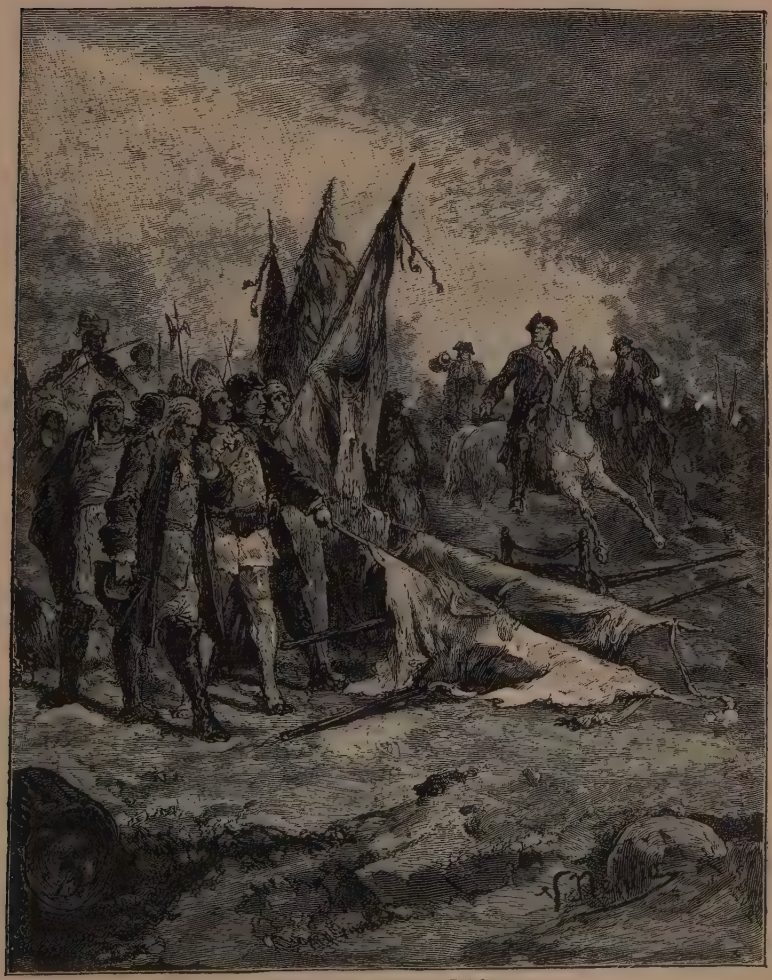
Lewenhaupt had a glimmer of hope that he could save the army by crossing the Vórskla and marching to the Black Sea. It was, however, too late. It was midnight when the King crossed, and the next morning the Russian advance guard appeared on the hills at the back of the camp—the troops of Menshikóf who had started in pursuit the day after the battle. Lewenhaupt tried to rally his men, and hoped to make a stand; but the Swedes refused to fight, many of them deserted, and some tried to swim across the Dniéper. A few officers even committed suicide. The conditions proposed by Menshikóf were honourable. The Zaporovians only were excepted. Lewenhaupt, after prolonging the negotiations as long as he could in order to give the King additional time for escape, at last surrendered. The prisoners taken at Perevolótchna numbered

[1] To make room for the tomb of some rich Greek merchant, the body of Mazeppa was in this century transferred to the Church of the Virgin. The broken tombstone has now disappeared.



THE FLIGHT AFTER POLTAVA.

15,799, including three generals. Those taken at Poltáva were 2,871. The Swedish loss in killed and wounded was about 4,000. As trophies of the fight, the Russians took 32 cannon



Captured Standards at Poltáva.

and 264 standards, besides waggons and trains. Their own loss was, killed, 1,345, and wounded, 3,290. 'And thus, by God's help, the whole of the enemy's army, so famous in the

world (which by its presence in Saxony caused no little fear in Europe), came into the hands of the Emperor.' Thus says Peter's journal; and in a letter to Apráxin, written on the night after the battle, the Tsar adds: 'Now, with God's help, the last stone has been laid of the foundation of St. Petersburg.'

Neither on the flight to the Dniéper nor afterwards did Charles blame himself for what had happened. At Perevolótchna he defended the dispositions of Rehnskjöld, and ascribed the loss of the battle to the refusal of the other generals properly to second him. This was so unjust that Gyllenkrok found it necessary to use calm but strong language in their defence. Afterwards Charles was angry with Lewenhaupt for his surrender, maintained that it was unnecessary, and insisted that he could with ease have marched the whole army to Otchakóf, or could even have beaten the Russians at Perevolótchna and retreated to Poland. He decreed that officers who should succeed in escaping from their Russian captivity should be considered as deserters and unworthy to serve their country. At the head of the proscription list he placed the name of Lewenhaupt. An inquiry was made into his conduct, which lasted for three years, and Charles hesitated to pardon him.

The battle of Poltáva marked the end of the campaign and of Charles's greatness. It did in one day what would otherwise have required weeks to accomplish, but the Swedish army was irretrievably lost, and the end would have been exactly the same, though a little later, had the battle of Poltáva never been fought.[1]

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[1] Soloviéf, xv.; Gólikof; Fryxell, i.; Adlerfeld; Nordberg; Lundblad; Sarauw; Gyllenkrok, *Berättelse*, Upsala, 1800; *Correspondance de Madame Duchesse d'Orléans*.

LVI.

THE FRUITS OF THE VICTORY

The success at Poltáva was so sudden and so overwhelming that the Russians were at first dazed and confused by the magnitude of their victory. It seemed scarcely possible to believe that the great dangers which had so long threatened them were now averted. But the practical necessities of the moment soon restored Peter to his equilibrium. The bodies of the dead were collected and buried; those of the Russians under a mound which now marks the centre of the battle-field. Poltáva was entered in triumph, an inspection was made of its crumbling walls, which could scarcely have held out longer, and thanks were given to its brave defenders. The name's-day of the Tsar was celebrated in state. Many thousand Kalmuks arrived too late to take part in the victory, and they had to be content with a portion of the booty. Fortunately, so much Saxon treasure was found in the Swedish army chest that such rewards were cheap. The Swedish prisoners were marched off to different towns and provinces; some to Kief, some to Moscow, and some even to Siberia. They were made to labour at works of public utility, even at the construction of fortifications. The generals and superior officers were allowed their pay, and a third was given them in advance. Cederhjelm and Marderfeldt were allowed to go on parole to Stockholm and use their efforts for peace. The Prince of Würtemberg was released unconditionally. Unfortunately, he died of fever, in Volynia, on the way home. After giving him a military funeral, the Tsar sent his body to his mother at Stuttgart. Mühlenfeld, who had deserted to the Swedes at Grodno, was shot. Many Cossacks and Zaporovians were executed with tortures; the rest were pardoned. Great rewards were given to those who had taken the

chief part in the events of the campaign. Menshikóf was made a Field Marshal,[1] Sheremétief received larger estates, Golófkin was made Chancellor, and Shafírof, Vice-Chancellor. The generals received increase of rank, or estates, and all were presented with the portrait of the Tsar set in diamonds. Peter himself, who was up to this time a colonel, at the request of his officers took the title of Lieutenant-General in the army, and Rear-Admiral in the navy. In Moscow there was great rejoicing. The Tsarévitch Alexis entertained the foreign ministers and the chief Russian officials; the Princess Natalia had a grand banquet for the ladies; tables plentifully supplied with viands, wine, and beer were set in the street; the town was illuminated, and salutes were fired, for a whole week; and women and girls had the privilege allowed during Holy Week only to ring the church bells from morn to night.

Some extracts from Peter's letters will show something of his feelings. He wrote to Catharine on the day of the battle, addressing her now and henceforth alone, and not together with Anisia Tolstóy:

'Little mother, how are you? I declare to you that the all-merciful Lord has deigned to grant us this day an indescribable victory over the enemy. To say it in one word, the whole enemy's force is knocked on the head, about which you yourself will hear from us. Come here and congratulate us. Piter.

'Give my respects to the Princess and the rest.'

In writing to Ramodanófsky, whom he now dignifies with the title of *Kaiser* instead of King, he says: 'Thus all the army of the enemy, by God's help, remains in our hands, and we congratulate your Majesty on a victory such as has never been heard of in this world. Now without doubt the wish of your Majesty to have your constant residence in St. Petersburg has been made possible by this final defeat of the enemy.'

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[1] In Narcissus Luttrell's *Brief Relation*, VI., 597, we find the following entry: "Saturday, June 24, 1710. A magnificent service of plate, consisting of many large dishes, stands, plates, etc., have been made here at the charge of the Czar, with his coat of arms and lofty titles curiously engraved thereon, designed by him as a present to Prince Menshikóf for his signal victory over the Swedish army near Poltáva, which will be put on board the outward-bound Russian fleet."

He thanks Ramodanófsky for his promotion:

'Sir, the gracious letter of your Majesty and the decree to his Excellency the Field Marshal and Cavalier Sheremétief, by which I have been given in your name the rank of Rear-Admiral in the fleet and of Lieutenant-General on land, have been announced to me. I have not yet deserved so much, but it has been given to me solely by your kindness. I therefore pray God for strength to be able to deserve in future such honour. Piter.'

Letters enclosing a copy of the account of the battle were sent not only to all Peter's friends, including two merchants, and to the chief officials at Moscow, but also to many of the Polish magnates and to Russian ministers abroad for communication to the courts to which they were accredited. Menshikóf wrote to the Duke of Marlborough, and so much did Peter desire his good opinion that twelve days after the battle a special courier was despatched to him and to the Prince of Orange. In some of these letters occurred the phrase: 'In short, the whole of the enemy's army has had an end like that of Phaeton.' This comparison caused in some quarters doubts as to the genuineness of the letter and the reality of the victory. 'For what,' it was said, 'do the Russians know about Phaeton?'

On July 24 the army left Poltáva, which was beginning to be very unhealthy. Sheremétief, with all the infantry and a part of the cavalry, was sent to besiege Riga, while Menshikóf, with the greater part of the cavalry, marched to Poland in order to unite with General Goltz and act against King Stanislas and General Krassow. Peter went to Kíef, where he made the acquaintance of Theophán Prokópovitch, the rector of the Bratsky monastery, who, when in the previous winter Prince Dimitri Golítsyn had sent away from Kíef the disaffected monks and students, had been characterised as 'the only man in all Kíef who is indulgent to us.' This 'indulgent' rector preached a congratulatory sermon in the famous church of St. Sophia, which so pleased Peter by its flattery, its sympathy, and its eloquence, that it decided the preacher's future career. He became one of the pillars of the Tsar's reforms. The fatigues of Poltáva brought on a fever which kept the Tsar for a fortnight in Kíef; but he was sufficiently master of himself to dic-

tate orders with regard to his fleet, and letters to the parents and relatives of many who had died in the battle.

The news of the Swedish disaster at Poltáva was at first disbelieved in Poland, but at last the evidence became so strong that General Krassow thought it his wisest course to retreat into Pomerania. He was shortly followed by King Stanislas, who offered to resign the crown if the Republic demanded it.[1] King Augustus regained his courage and issued a proclamation recounting the indignities put upon him by the Swedish king, and recalling his faithful subjects to their allegiance. He entered Poland with an army of 14,000 men, and invited the Tsar to an interview at Thorn. In this condition of affairs the Polish magnates found it impossible to temporise; they withdrew from Stanislas and paid court to Peter, and thanking him that by his victory he had restored them their lawful sovereign and their liberties. In the last days of September, at Solec, Peter reviewed the Polish army commanded by the Hetman Sieniawski, and received the chamberlain of the King of Prussia, who had come to congratulate him and invite him to visit his sovereign. Stopping but a day at Warsaw to be received in state by the Polish senators, Peter sailed down the Vistula to Thorn. A little above the town he was met by the barge of the King. Augustus blushed and stammered in offering his congratulations, but Peter put him at ease by telling him not to recall the past, as he knew that he could not act otherwise, dined with him on his barge, and both entered Thorn on horseback in great pomp amid the acclamations of the populace. Peter could not, however, resist taking a characteristic revenge. He said: 'I always wear the cutlass you gave me, but you it seems do not care for my sword.' Augustus replied that, though he prized it highly, in the hurry of departure it had unfortunately been left behind at Dresden. 'Then,' said Peter,

[1] Stanislas afterwards joined Charles XII. at Bender, who made over to him his Duchy of Zweibrücken with an income of 70,000 thalers yearly. After Charles's death he went to Hesse-Cassel and then to Weissenburg, where he was living on a scanty pension from the French Government, when he became unexpectedly the father-in-law of Louis XV. His attempt to regain his crown on the death of Augustus in 1733 was a disastrous failure. By treaty of 1735 he was made Duke of Lorraine, where he lived to the age of 86.

'let me give you another,' and produced the sword in question, which he had found among the baggage of Charles at Poltáva, and which he had brought with him for this meeting.

On October 20, the Tsar and Augustus concluded a new treaty, by which all previous obligations and claims were withdrawn, and all previous documents were to be considered as waste paper. The Tsar agreed to aid Augustus in regaining the Polish throne; the King promised to assist him against all his enemies. The aim of the alliance was not to annihilate Sweden, but to restrict it to its proper boundaries, and to render it harmless to its neighbours. The King promised to atone for the insult given to the Tsar as well as to himself by the surrender of Patkul, by punishing his enemies Imhof and Pfingsten, who had concluded the treaty of Altranstädt, while the Tsar asked the amnesty to be extended even to them. A few days afterwards a secret article was added to the treaty by which the 'principality of Livonia, with all its cities and towns, was to be ceded to his Polish Majesty as Elector of Saxony, and to his heirs.'

The public opinion of Europe, which had been adverse to Peter and to the Russians, turned as soon as the result of the battle of Poltáva was known. Leibnitz, for example, who after the battle of Narva had expressed his desire that Charles should rule over Moscow as far as the Amur, now thought that the defeat and capture of all the Swedish army would be for ever memorable in history, and would serve to teach posterity in many ways that the Muscovite troops had done wonders, and that there were scarcely any better troops in Europe. 'The Tsar henceforth will attract the consideration of Europe, and will have a very great part in general affairs. People greatly praise his humanity and his goodness in giving Swedish officers leave on parole. But he is right to keep the soldiers. He can make very good colonies of them on the frontiers of his empire.' 'You can believe,' he writes, 'how much the revolution in the north astonished many people. It is commonly said that the Tsar will be formidable for all Europe, and will be like a northern Turk. But can he be prevented from educating his subjects and rendering them civilised and warlike? *Qui jure suo utitur nemini facit injuriam.* As for me, who am for the good of the human race, I am very glad that so great an empire is put-

ting itself in the ways of reason and of order, and I consider the Tsar in that respect as a person whom God has destined to great works. He has succeeded in having good troops. I do not doubt that by your means he will succeed in also having good foreign relations, and I shall be charmed if I can help him make science flourish in his country. I maintain even that he can do in that respect finer things than all other princes have done.'

In several letters he laid stress on the readiness with which he would draw plans for an academy of sciences, or for museums and colleges, and suggested inscriptions for medals commemorative of the battle, especially a line of Claudian, *Confessos animo quoque subjugat hostes.* 'You know people like to apply the words of some ancient poet on these occasions . . . . and the Tsar has not only enchained the bodies of his enemies, but has vanquished and gained their souls by his generosity.'

'I have seen part of the description of your fête, which the Electress has not failed to send to Madame d'Orléans. The Electress praised the Tsar long ago, and long before the battle of Poltáva. Madame d'Orléans applauded, but is astonished that the Tsar wishes to change the clothes of his country, because she thinks that the eastern style of dress has a grander air.'

Leibnitz not only hailed Peter as a great reformer, and praised his kindness of heart and his goodness, but considered him a bulwark of peace: 'As for me, I am persuaded that the princes of Germany, especially those who love the maintenance of justice against the violence of the most powerful, cannot take better measures than with his Tsarish Majesty, and I hope that this prince will enter as a guarantor into the general treaty of peace.'

Negotiations had been going on since 1707 with the house of Wolfenbüttel, for a marriage between the Tsarévitch Alexis and the Princess Charlotte. But great difficulties were raised because the Tsar's position in Russia was not secure, and it would be very difficult for him to succeed in making himself 'considerable' in Europe, for Sweden would not conclude peace until she had won back all the Baltic coast, and Poland, Holland, and England would never allow Russia to gain a position as a naval power. Now there was a strong current of favourable opinion to him at the court of Wolfenbüttel. He had become brave and generous and powerful, and his virtues were loudly

celebrated. All difficulties with regard to the marriage ceased. The Princess consented, and a draft of the marriage contract was soon drawn up and sent to Russia through Baron Urbich.

Another marriage proposition had come from Austria, for the Emperor was now desirous of a defensive alliance with Russia, and sent Count Wilczek to St. Petersburg to arrange this and to offer at the same time the hand of his youngest sister, the Archduchess Magdalena, to the Tsarévitch.

The Elector of Hanover showed signs of a readiness to detach himself from the Swedish interests and draw nearer to Russia. To confirm this feeling Prince Boris Kurákin, returned long since from Rome, was sent as minister to Hanover.

While the Tsar was at Thorn, he received a Danish envoy, Baron von Rantzau, with the congratulations of King Frederick IV., and a request for an offensive and defensive allegiance against Sweden. Prince Basil Dolgorúky, the Tsar's minister at Copenhagen, had long been trying to bring the Danes to this step, and had been instructed to make large promises of men and money. After the defeat of the Swedes he reduced his offers, and thought he could get the treaty at a cheaper rate. The Danes seemed somewhat disposed to it, but talked of the great expense to which they would be put, especially for their fleet, and of the impossibility of Russia holding a port on the Baltic against England and Holland without the assistance of Denmark. England and Holland both did their best to prevent any such arrangement until peace had been made with France, and their ministers even threatened in conference with the Danes to take the side of Sweden. They feared that in case of a war in the north German troops would be withdrawn from the allied army, and an advantage thus given to France.[1]

[1] Marlborough strongly advised Godolphin against any precipitate measures. 'If King Augustus marches for Poland, you cannot doubt of its being concerted between the three Kings; so that the Queen, in my poor opinion, should be very careful of what steps she makes; for we have in this army upwards of 40,000 men which belong to these princes, and, should they withdraw their troops, the houses of Brunswick and Holstein would be obliged to do the same, which are 20,000 more. I need not mention what consequence this would have for the advantage of France; but I am sure you will do all you can for preventing the loss of these troops. The Pensioner has desired my opinion on this affair, which I have given him, that our first and principal

Dolgorúky, too, ascertained that when the King of Prussia had sent word to Holland of his intention to have an interview with the Tsar, the States General warned him against entering into any arrangements with Russia, as the Tsar was now so strong that he could become dangerous for other Powers, and especially for Prussia, that all the Powers were bound not to allow him to strengthen himself so as to cause harm to the whole of Europe. While the Danes were using this opposition as a pretext for demanding subsidies, the Secretary of the French Legation informed Dolgorúky that Louis XIV. would be very glad to make an alliance with the Tsar. Dolgorúky, in reporting this, was of opinion that it would be better not to make any arrangements with France, but only to show an apparent willingness to do so, so that France might be incited to carry on a war, and the allies might be held in check. He was ordered to reply that Russia would be very glad to receive a French envoy. France was very willing to put an end to all former disputes, and was ready to guarantee the conquests of the Tsar and help Russia to establish herself firmly on the Baltic so as to injure the Dutch trade. Dolgorúky managed so well that though he had before promised to supply soldiers and sailors, and give a subsidy, he now succeeded in inducing Denmark to make an alliance with Russia without any such stipulation. He wrote in ecstasy to Golófkin, 'I have given nothing, neither a man nor a shilling.' This treaty was concluded on October 22, and soon after Danish troops were sent to Scania. Dolgorúky accompanied them in the royal frigate which had been put at his disposition, and witnessed their landing.

While Dolgorúky was concluding the treaty with the Danes, Peter had sailed down the Vistula to Marienwerder, and had his interview with King Frederick of Prussia. The King communicated to him his views with regard to the partition of Poland, but the Tsar replied that it was not practicable. Both the King and the Tsar dined with Menshikóf, and the King conferred on him the order of the Black Eagle, and Peter gave the King a sword made in Russia, 'of very extraordinary workmanship.' Apparently everything was most cordial. Scarcely

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care should be to oblige these princes not to recall their troops, and afterwards to concert what measures are best to be taken, but not to be hasty in taking a resolution.'

ten words passed without embraces; but the Prussian monarch and his minister were surprised to find the Tsar so haughty, so cool, and so evidently master of the situation. 'He had the air of pardoning the King for Krassow's escape. The air of his ministers, especially of the Chancellor, with whom Wartenberg had to treat, was still more supercilious, and it was a slight consolation that the Polish and Saxon lords at Thorn had been treated still worse, "like slaves."'[1]

The Tsar nevertheless concluded an alliance with King Frederick, defensive in its terms, as Prussia was excused from taking any active part in the war. This treaty (concluded at Marienwerder Nov. 1, 1709) was almost a copy of the treaty concluded at Cöllen the previous July between Prussia, Denmark, and Poland against Sweden. By a secret article the Tsar promised Elbing and the adjoining district to Prussia, provided the King should block the way of the Swedes from Pomerania into Poland. He also agreed to restore Curland to the young Duke Frederick William, nephew of the King of Prussia, with whom and his niece Anna,[2] the daughter of the Tsar Ivan, a marriage was speedily arranged.

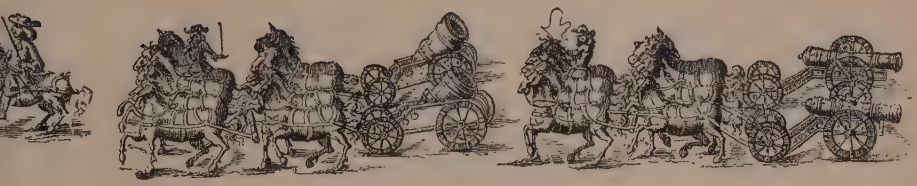
The pest was raging at Königsberg, and Peter was obliged to take roundabout roads to reach the camp of Sheremétief, who was preparing for the siege of Riga. After making a reconnaissance of the positions, although he was exposed to the enemy's fire, he put his mortars in position, and fired the first three bombs into the place, one of which hit the Church of St. Peter. He thus satisfied a lingering desire for revenge on a town where he considered he had been badly treated, for he wrote to Menshikóf in a letter which we have already quoted: 'Thus the Lord God has enabled us to see the beginning of our revenge on this accursed place.' The same expression was used in a letter to the Russian minister in Prussia relative to the siege operations, but there was added in a postscript, 'Say nothing about the bombardment.' After leaving instructions to Sheremétief not to expose his men too much to the rigours of the climate, but to confine himself during the winter months to a blockade of the town, the Tsar went to St. Petersburg,

[1] Droysen.

[2] She subsequently became Empress.

where he arrived on December 4. He now felt sure of the permanence of his settlement on the Neva, and during his short stay busied himself with many plans for the enlargement and improvement of the town. He decided on designs for public gardens and for a palace, on plans for magazines and store-houses, and ordered the nobles to build houses in what he called 'The Holy Land,' but to which they were ready to apply an epithet of a totally different character. After laying the keel of a ship, to be called the *Poltáva*, and giving directions for the foundation of a church for the funeral of strangers in honour of St. Sampson the Hospitable, on whose anniversary the battle of Poltáva was fought, he hastened to Moscow for his triumph. It was necessary for him to wait a week at his villa of Kolómenskoe for the arrival of the Guard, and for completing the necessary arrangements. At last everything was ready, the triumphal arches were duly erected and the streets properly decorated, and the procession set out. But just as it was starting Peter received information of the birth of his daughter Elizabeth (subsequently Empress). He hurried off with his friends to celebrate the event at home, and put off the procession for two days. In this triumphal entry the Tsar compelled the Swedish prisoners to take part, to the number of 22,085. Peter was on horseback, following immediately after the Swedish generals and ministers, in the same colonel's uniform that he had worn at Poltáva. It was so late, after the Te Deum in the cathedral, that the remainder of the ceremony was postponed till the following day. There then occurred such a curious scene that one hesitates whether to consider it a mere farce, or whether to try to believe that it had some serious purpose. His Majesty Ramodanófsky, now promoted by the Tsar from King to *Kaiser*, sat on the throne, and the two field marshals, Sheremétief and Menshikóf, attended by Peter as Colonel of the Guard, presented reports of the victories they had won and of the prisoners they had made. It was noticeable that the credit of the battle of Poltáva was given to Sheremétief, that of the surrender or Perevolótchna to Menshikóf, while Peter claimed only the victory of Liésna. Ramodanófsky thanked them for their services to the State, and confirmed the promotion of the Tsar to be Lieutenant-General. Piper,

THE LITTER IN THE PROCESSION.



PROCESSION OF ARTILLERY.

PROCESSION OF CAVALRY.

TRAILING FLAGS.

PORTIONS OF THE TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION.

Rhenskjöld, and the other Swedish generals were then introduced. They scarcely could credit their eyes when they saw on the throne, not Peter, but a person entirely unknown to them, and began to wonder whether they had ever yet seen the real Peter. The screens which counterfeited one of the walls of the room suddenly opened, and disclosed the large brilliantly lighted hall of the new palace, with tables laid for a banquet.

Under the daïs at one end was set a small table for five persons, and here Ramodanófsky took precedence, attended by two field marshals, the Tsar, and the Chancellor Golófkin. The Swedish generals were entertained at a separate table on their right. Toasts were drunk to all, even to the Swedes, and the carousing was kept up till a late hour. The crowd outside was amused with fireworks. The official feasting went on again the next day, when entertainments were also given to the people, to the troops, and to all the Swedish prisoners; and the Christmas holidays were spent in festivities and nightly banquets in the houses of Peter's intimate friends.[1]

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[1] Soloviéf, xv., xvi.; Gólikof; Coxe, *Marlborough;* Von Arneth, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen;* Guerrier, *Leibnitz;* F. Martens, *Récueil des Traités, etc., de la Russie*, V., St. Petersburg, 1880; Droysen, *Geschichte der Preussischen Politik*, IV.

LVII.

REFORM.—1700-1711.

It has long been time to speak of the internal condition of Russia.

The changes which the Tsar had thus far introduced into the Government had been rather of form than of substance. During these nine years since the beginning of the war he had been little in the capital. Whenever he had set himself seriously to work at the administration of the country, the necessities of the war had always called him away. It is not therefore surprising to find that out of 440 documents recorded in the statute book during this period, the greater number are decrees for the enrolment of recruits or for the imposition and collection of taxes.

The names of some departments were changed, that of the Streltsi, for instance, becoming that of Provincial Affairs. The innovations of the Tsar brought about the creation of new departments and chanceries, such as the Departments of the Navy, of Artillery, of Mines, the Chancery of Uniforms, and that of Baths. To save the time of the Tsar it was decreed that petitions should be addressed to the various departments and ministers, and no longer to the Tsar himself, except for very important matters. A new form of petition was prescribed, and the use of too abject expressions and of diminutive names in the signature was again forbidden. It became no longer necessary for a man to fall on his knees in the presence of the Tsar, or to take off his hat in passing the palace in winter. Peter said: 'What difference is there between God and the Tsar when the same respect is given to both? Less abjectness, more zeal for the service, and more fidelity to me and to the State—such is the honour which should be paid to the Tsar.'

While the old official hierarchy of Boyárs, Okólnitchis, Nobles, and Secretaries of the Council was gradually dying out, no new creations were made. In 1705 there were but forty-one persons bearing such titles. The men who were nearest to Peter, and had most weight in his councils, such as Menshikóf, Apráxin, and Ramodanófsky, had not received any of these antique appellations, and Sheremétief and Golovín exchanged them for the western title of Count. They were given new titles, Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Privy Councillor, &c., and slowly by the side of the old administration a new one was growing up more suited to Peter's individual ideas.

The Boyárs held as before their regular sessions in council and managed the routine business of the Government, although the heads of departments were now called ministers, and the Russian name for their assembly was changed for a foreign one. The Tsar found that in his absence the ministers were negligent in their attendance, and that if afterwards their decisions were blamed, they excused themselves by saying that they had not been present, and had taken no part in the deliberations. He was therefore obliged to enjoin punctuality at the sessions, and to order the decisions to be written out and signed by the ministers present. Minutes of these decisions, and important papers of all kinds, were sent to the Tsar in whatever part of the Empire he might be, and as his movements were rapid, they sometimes made two journeys before reaching him. The attention of Peter was so taken up with the events of the war, and he had so frequently to leave one matter unfinished in order to begin another, that the Cabinet Secretary, Alexis Makárof, became a very important and influential personage. It was his duty to keep order in the papers, to see that nothing was neglected, and at the proper time to bring matters to the attention of the Tsar, whom he accompanied always and everywhere. Modest and retiring, originally a scribe at Vológda, where Peter found him, he gave no counsel or opinion, but he knew the best time to propose a subject to his master's consideration, and his memory was stimulated and his good will sought for by the mightiest of the realm. In this Cabinet, through which the Empire was really governed, Osterman, the son of a Lutheran pastor at Bockum in Westphalia, and afterwards so famous as a

minister and a diplomatist, was a secretary employed for the foreign correspondence.

One new institution came into being, one which has left an impress on Russian life not yet effaced,—the Secret Chancery of Preobrazhénsky. In the old times the Streltsi at Moscow had been charged with the preservation of the public order. They were the police of the city. After the dissolution of the Streltsi the police duties devolved chiefly on the Preobrazhénsky regiment, and drunkards and other disturbers of the peace were arrested and taken to the post in the square of the Kremlin or to the head-quarters at Preobrazhénsky. The procedure was usually simple. After hearing the prisoner's statement and what little evidence the soldiers who arrested him could produce, Prince Ramodanófsky either imprisoned him for further investigation, had him stripped and beaten, or dismissed him at once if innocent, on payment, however, of a sum of money as expenses for his arrest. The business of the tribunal at Preobrazhénsky constantly increased, and included not only police matters, but crimes and even treasonable acts. By a decree of October, 1702, this tribunal was legalized, and it was ordered that any person who cried out 'word and deed'[1] should be sent before it. These terrible words brought about the arrest of all persons present or concerned, and the application of the most fearful torture. The Secret Chancery of Preobrazhénsky was subsequently transferred to St. Petersburg and continued to have exclusive charge of the secret police of the State. In that way it was the lineal ancestor of what was subsequently known as the Third Section of His Imperial Majesty's Chancery. It is pleasant to know that the numerous pages of its blood-stained records during Peter's reign show but few cases of real crime against the Tsar, and sad to see what numbers of men and women were tortured for chance, and sometimes ill-understood, words and expressions, or on the denunciation of some personal enemy. It is to be noted as marking the habits of the time that in the early years there were numerous cases of cap-stealing, which seems then to have been very rife at Mos-

[1] 'Word and deed of the Tsar' was the accepted term for denouncing high treason, even before the compilation of the Code of the Tsar Alexis, but its origin is unknown.

cow, especially among the soldiers. When they saw a peasant or merchant with a rich fur or velvet cap, they had a way of following him into a by-street and suddenly knocking off his cap. He would call out for the guard, there would be no trace of the thieves, and probably the same soldiers would arrest him for calling on the guard without cause, and he was lucky if on reaching the guard-house he was not instantly condemned and whipped. When Ramodanófsky finally found out the tricks of the soldiers, he did not spare them. They were well beaten, but the sufferer still had to pay the cost of his arrest, and usually went off without his cap.

It will be remembered that after Peter's return from his western journey he established new municipal institutions. It was in order to prevent irregularities in the working of these institutions, and for the better government of the provinces, that at the end of 1708 he divided the whole Empire into eight *gubernias* or governments, and appointed as governors, the Boyár Tikhon Stréshnef of Moscow, Prince Menshikóf of St. Petersburg, Prince Dimítri Golítsyn of Kíef, the Boyár Peter Saltykóf of Smolénsk, Prince Peter Golítsyn of Archangel, the Boyár Peter Apráxin of Kazán, the Admiral Theodore Apráxin of Azof. Prince Matthew Gagárin, the former commandant of Moscow, was made the Governor of Siberia, by far the largest province. One of the duties specially enjoined upon them was to see that the whole of the revenue was sent to the Treasury, and it was from their reports that the first balance sheet was made in 1710. By this it appeared that the revenue for the previous year had been 3,026,128 rubles ($6,296,000), while the expenses were 3,834,418 rubles ($7,988,000), showing a considerable deficit.[1]

[1] The details of this budget are as follows:

Revenue from	Rubles.	Expenditure.	Rubles.
Moscow Government	1,140,097	Army	2,161,176
St. Petersburg Government.	336,627	Fleet	444,288
Kíef Government	114,857	Artillery and ammunition	221,799
Smolénsk Government	83,258	Recruits	30,000
Archangel Government	374,276	Armament	84,104
Kazán Government	600,000	Embassies, &c.	148,031
Azof Government	154,933	Court, medical department, support of prisoners, and miscellaneous	745,020
Siberia Government	222,080		
	3,026,128		3,834,418

No mention is made of the salaries of Government officials, and it is plain that only the net revenues are meant after all the ordinary expenses of the Government had been deducted. The deficit was covered in part by paying the salaries in depreciated currency.

To produce even this amount many new taxes had been imposed and many ways had been devised of increasing the revenue. A tax was placed on private bath-houses, and all the public baths were taken possession of by the Government and farmed. This arrangement not working well, the baths were returned to their owners, and taxed according to their revenue. By similar laws and changes of laws a considerable sum was obtained from inns and places for the accommodation of travellers. Taxes were levied from mills, bridges, ferries, and horse fairs. Mills were taken possession of and rented out; proprietors were allowed to build new mills on payment of one-quarter of the revenue to the Treasury. A rhubarb monopoly was established. A tax was placed on the registration of wills. A tax was laid on the sale of wheat and provisions. The sale of salt was made a Government monopoly and the price was fixed at double the cost to the Government. The monopoly of selling tobacco was taken from the English merchants and retained by the Government. The flax monopoly of the English merchants was abolished; the trade in flax became free, but an export duty was placed on the article. A still heavier tax was placed on the wearing of beards and moustaches. Measures were taken to obtain a revenue from the sale of tallow, pitch, and tar. A tenth part was assessed on the receipts of public carriers. Duty was laid on horses and horse-hides. A weighing tax was instituted. A tax was laid on sales. Merchants were ordered to be registered and to pay a duty. Houses in Moscow were registered and taxed. Efforts were made to collect the excise on liquor with more exactitude. A tax was placed on beehives, and a temporary tax of 4 *altyns* (about 24 cents), for the support of the artillery, was placed on the houses of merchants and peasants. It was ordered that all oak coffins be seized at a specified price, and kept in the monasteries and there sold at four times their cost. Coffins of other kinds were not taxed.

It will be seen from this that the investigations of Kurbátof and the other 'revenue-finders' were not without result. But the revenue could not be increased to any great extent except with the growth of trade and industry. In spite of the reformed currency and the opening of a port on the Baltic, such a growth could be but gradual and was not to be produced by decrees. Peter had at one time ordered the Moscow merchants to form themselves into companies and trade in the same manner as foreigners. The Dutch were alarmed at this, and Van der Hulst, their Minister, asked for instructions to beg the Tsar to change this decree. But he soon saw that his fear was groundless, and wrote: 'As concerns the trading business, this matter has fallen through of itself. The Russians do not know how to set about and begin such a complex and difficult business. If I receive the instructions I asked for, I shall delay acting on them, for on your demand the Tsar will give up the project, the impossibility of which has already been demonstrated, and will then make out that he did this as a favour to you.'

Not the taxes alone weighed upon the industry of the country. There were many other burdens. The many contributions in kind; the stones and sand hauled to Moscow to pave the streets where the old wooden pavements were worn out; the restrictions placed on the cutting of timber,—and in the use of wood the Russian peasant has always been prodigal,—the prohibition of felling certain trees useful for naval purposes under pain of death without excuse; the forced labour everywhere, but especially at Azof, Vorónezh, and St. Petersburg, and more than all the constant drain of men for recruits; all these brought both peasants and proprietors to the verge of ruin.

A few measures show a certain amount of solicitude on the part of the Government for the popular welfare. A hospital was established in Moscow. It was forbidden to kill new-born infants who were deformed or idiots. The sale of poisonous herbs and drugs, except by apothecaries, was prohibited. The sale or wearing of sharp pointed knives was forbidden, and in 1702 an order was made against duels, especially between foreigners, for the Russians had not the habit of fighting them. New

laws were made to protect Moscow against fire,[1] and for the first time, in 1703, the parish priests of Moscow were obliged to keep registers of the births and deaths. From these we find that in 1703 there were 11,337 births and 13,929 deaths, and in eleven months of 1704 there were 10,494 births and 13,119 deaths. The excess of deaths over births does not speak well for the sanitary condition of the city at a time when there was no great epidemic, but there are reasons for doubting the accuracy of the registry. It is apparent from this that the population of Moscow at this time was about half a million.

To provide for good government, to encourage trade and manufactures, and especially to obtain efficient officers for the army, foreign aid seemed more than ever necessary. On the urgent advice of Patkul, Peter, on April 27, 1702, issued the famous manifesto inviting foreigners to Russia.

'It is sufficiently known,' said this document, 'in all the lands which the Almighty has placed under our rule, that since our accession to the throne all our efforts and intentions have tended to govern this realm in such a way that all of our subjects should, through our care for the general good, become more and more prosperous. For this end, we have always tried to maintain internal order, to defend the State against invasion, and in every possible way to improve and to extend trade. With this purpose we have been compelled to make some necessary and salutary changes in the administration, in order that our subjects might more easily gain a knowledge of matters of which they were before ignorant, and become more skilful in their commercial relations. We have therefore given orders, made dispositions, and founded institutions indispensable for increasing our trade with foreigners, and shall do the same in future. Nevertheless we fear that matters are not in such a good condition as we desire, and that our subjects cannot in perfect quietness enjoy the fruits of our labours, and we have therefore considered still other means to protect our frontier from the invasion of the enemy, and to preserve the rights and privileges of

[1] Although a decree was issued once a year that all new houses and shops in Moscow should be built of brick or stone, yet the revenue agents were allowed to place such a tax on bricks as to double their price and thus counteract these decrees.

our State, and the general peace of all Christians, as is incumbent on a Christian monarch to do. To attain these worthy aims, we have endeavoured to improve our military forces, which are the protection of our State, so that our troops may consist of well-drilled men, maintained in perfect order and discipline. In order to obtain greater improvement in this respect, and to encourage foreigners, who are able to assist us in this way, as well as artists and artisans profitable to the State, to come in numbers to our country, we have issued this manifesto, and have ordered printed copies of it to be sent throughout Europe.'

In order to encourage foreigners to come to Russia, and to remove all fear of ill-treatment, it was expressly stated that all previous laws and decrees restricting the arrival or the departure of foreigners were thereby repealed, that all who came with the intention of entering the Russian service would receive a free passage and a full protection; and that they might experience no difficulties arising from their ignorance of the Russian laws, they should be placed under the jurisdiction of a special tribunal composed of foreigners, where all proceedings should be conducted, not according to the Russian law, but according to the Roman civil law. More than that, the principle of religious tolerance was set forth in this decree almost as fully as by Frederick the Great, half a century later. 'And as in our residence of Moscow,' the manifesto goes on to say, 'the free exercise of religion of all other sects, although not agreeing with our church, is already allowed, so shall this be hereby confirmed anew in such wise that we, by the power granted to us by the Almighty, shall exercise no compulsion over the consciences of men, and shall gladly allow every Christian to care for his own salvation at his own risk.' No one was to be hindered or oppressed in either the private or public exercise of the religion of any Christian sect. It will be noticed that the freedom of religious exercise granted by Peter extended only to Christians. From these privileges he, by implication, excepted the Jews. At another time he expressed himself particularly on this point. 'I would rather,' he said, 'see among us the best people of the Mohammedan and heathen beliefs than Jews. They are rascals and cheats. I root out evil and do not spread it. They shall have no abode and no trade in Russia, however much they may

try to get it, and however near to me may be the people they bribe.'

Mention has already been made of the manner in which young Russians were sent abroad to study ;[1] but the efforts of Peter for instruction did not stop here. A school of mathematics and navigation was established at Moscow under the charge of three Scotch professors, in which there were about two hundred pupils, who made rapid progress in their studies, but whom Kurbátof, who then had direction of the school, found it difficult to save from the clutches of the recruiting agents. He complained grievously of the manner in which their education and the expense of keeping them would be wasted if they were taken for simple dragoons or soldiers. In 1703 a school of a different character, where ancient and modern languages were taught and a general education was given, was founded by Pastor Gluck, the prisoner of Marienburg, and the protector of Catharine. The brothers Thesingh of Amsterdam, under their concession, printed Russian books, which were sold at reasonable rates. Kopiéfsky published many manuals, educational books, and translations which were very useful, and others were printed at Moscow under the personal directions of the Tsar. In 1703 the first Russian newspaper was published at Moscow. It contained short notices of the military operations and of the events which happened in different parts of the country and abroad. Foreign notices of Russian affairs were even printed without alteration or remark. Finally, too, a theatre was opened, no longer one for the exclusive amusement of the Tsar and the Court, but a public one open to everybody, in a wooden building on the Red Place. Besides comedies and tragedies drawn from ancient history, this theatre gave representations of some of the events of the war, and on one occasion at least a comedy of Molière—*Le Medécin Malgré Lui.*

In the church there were changes of great importance.

The Patriarch Adrian died in October, 1700, when Peter was with his troops before Narva. There was difficulty in finding a successor on account of the ignorance of the clergy, their indifference to education and progress, and their want of sym-

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[1] See Vol. I., page 266.

pathy with Peter's undertakings. The only men of the higher clergy whom the Tsar could then allow to be placed in the position were from Little Russia; but with the relations of the Ukraine to Russia at that time such a course would have been dangerous politically, and as the clergy educated at Kíef, and exposed more or less to western influence, were accused of heresy and of a leaning towards the Church of Rome, it might perhaps have been the cause of another schism. At all events, it certainly would have strengthened the divisions already existing in the church. The Tsar was therefore perfectly ready to take the advice offered him by Kurbátof, and postpone for a time the election. By a decree of 1700 the principal charge of the church was given to Stephen Yavórsky, the Metropolitan of Riazán and Múrom, with the title of Exarch. This measure was temporary. There was no intention at that time of abolishing the Patriarchate, but during the war it had been impossible to find a suitable person for the office. Athanasius, the Bishop of Holmogóry, had been favoured by Peter as the probable successor of the Patriarch Adrian. But Peter's ideas had greatly changed since the time when he had been at Archangel, and Stephen Yavórsky was a man of far greater learning than Athanasius. He played an important part in the history of the church during Peter's reign. He was the Abbot of a monastery at Kíef, and had been sent to Moscow that very year as one of the candidates for the bishopric of Pereyaslávl. But Peter saw in him a man of the stamp he desired, and directed the Patriarch to consecrate him bishop of some diocese nearer to Moscow. He was therefore appointed to Riazán, but when the day for consecration came, he did not appear. He had taken refuge in the Donskói monastery, and obstinately refused to leave it, excusing himself on the ground that it was his duty to return to the Metropolitan of Kíef, who needed him, that as the Bishop of Riazán (who had resigned from old age) was still living, his consecration would be irregular, and that envious persons had accused him of having purchased the dignity, and called him a heretic and a lover of the Poles. The Tsar still insisted, and Yavórsky was obliged to yield.

The postponement of the election of the Patriarch was accompanied by a reorganization of the ecclesiastical administra-

tion. The Patriarchal chancery had up to this time had very great powers, and jurisdiction over everything that was ecclesiastical, including all questions of wills and inheritance, marriage, adultery, divorce, disputes between husbands and wives, or children and parents, questions of legitimacy and adoption, and the settlement of complaints not only of civilians against ecclêsiastics but of ecclesiastics against civilians. While questions of a purely theological and dogmatic character, and those of church discipline were left to the Metropolitan of Riazán, the general ecclesiastical jurisdiction as well as the care of the property and the other material interests of the church were placed in a new department created for the purpose, called the Department of Monasteries, at the head of which was placed the Boyár (afterwards Count), Ivan Alexéievitch Músin-Púshkin. The complaints of ecclesiastics against civilians were distributed amongst the various departments to which such civilians were amenable.

Strict regulations were immediately made and enforced against the monasteries, which at that time were numerous and very rich. There were then in Russia 557 monasteries and convents, three of which—the Abrámief at Rostóf, the Výdubitsky at Kíef, and the Perýn at Nóvgorod—were founded at the end of the tenth century. Their number increased rapidly, as both princes, nobles and rich merchants vied in giving privileges or granting lands to monasteries, for the welfare of their souls. In the seventeenth century as many as 220 had been founded. As a consequence of possessing landed property, the monasteries owned very many peasants. In some cases the rights of the monasteries over their lands and serfs seemed anterior to any known laws and charters. They were part of the common law, and in many cases were exceptions to the general laws of the land. The richest of all the monasteries, that of the Tróïtsa near Moscow, possessed 20,394 peasant houses. The Patriarch had as his own official property 8,842 peasant houses. The Metropolitan of Rostóf had about four thousand four hundred. In general the monastic clergy in 1700 owned as many as 130,000 peasant houses, and on an inquiry made in 1723 it was found that 151 monasteries in and near Moscow possessed 242,-198 male serfs. By successive decrees the Department of Mon-

asteries was empowered to take possession of and manage all the property of the monasteries, and "in order to enable the monks and nuns better to fulfil their religious duties," it was decided to give a fixed sum for their support to the inmates of each monastery, and to devote the remainder to the support of the poor monasteries which had no property, and to general works of charity. This was therefore practically a measure of confiscation. The annual amount for the support of the monks was fixed at ten rubles and ten quarters of grain for each person, with an indefinite supply of wood for fuel. In 1705, after an inquiry into the old account books of the monasteries, this amount was reduced to five rubles and five quarters of grain. The servants of the monasteries were to be restricted to the smallest possible number of persons; the inmates were bound to reside constantly in their monasteries, and were not allowed to change to others; nuns were forbidden to go out without the written permission of their superiors, and then only for a short time; no novices were to be received under forty years old, nor without the permission of the Tsar; monks and nuns were not allowed to have paper and ink in their rooms, and according to the example of ancient times were permitted to write in the common hall only; and laymen were not allowed to enter the monasteries except during the times of divine service, and could not live there. As might be expected, these strict regulations for monastic life caused great discontent among the clergy. Yavórsky, too, excited a feeling against himself by the reorganization of the Moscow Academy which he took in hand.

The introduction of foreign teachers from Kief excited the jealousy of the Russian clergy, and the dismissal of some Greek teachers and the refusal to employ others who came with letters of recommendation from Constantinople called out the anger of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who accused Yavórsky of unorthodoxy and intrigued against him. Even Yavórsky himself was not entirely contented. He found himself in an unpleasant position in Moscow, where he had not succeeded in making friends, and longed for his beloved Little Russia. In spite of the rewards which he received at Court for his active assistance and for his panegyrics, amounting sometimes to as much as a thousand gold pieces at a time, he again and again

begged for permission to resign. His prayers were unheeded, and he continued to assist in the work of reorganization. Nevertheless, he quarrelled with Músin-Púshkin, on account of the Bishopric of Holmogóry, where the Tsar, because of the intercourse which that region had with foreign parts, wished not only a learned but a politic man. None of the candidates proposed by Yavórsky were accepted by the Tsar, and he resented the interference of Músin-Púshkin. Some bishops, like Isaiah of Nizhni-Nóvgorod, flatly refused to comply with the orders of Músin-Púshkin unless they had a decree signed by the Tsar in person. There were noble exceptions to this clerical narrowness, men who appreciated the necessities of the measures and who entered into the spirit of the times. Dimítri, Abbot of Nóvgorod-Séversk, had been selected to be the Metropolitan of Siberia, but he was a learned man, was engaged on a work which is still a religious classic in Russia, *The Lives of the Saints*, and hated to go to such a wilderness as was Siberia in those days, far away from books and documents. Peter entered into his feelings, permitted him to remain at Moscow, and finally made him Metropolitan of Rostóf. Dimítri finished his great work and began another, but his attention being suddenly called to the politics of the time by the question of some conscientious people at Yaroslávl as to whether it was not a sin to shave the beard and destroy the image of the Creator, he threw aside his historical occupations and wrote a tract on the 'Divine Image and its Similitude in Man,' which Peter had printed and widely circulated. He then devoted himself to pamphlets against Dissent, and endeavoured to bring the ignorant and fanatical to more sensible views of religious duty. Job, the Metropolitan of Nóvgorod, started a Græco-Latin-Slavonic school for the higher education of the clergy, and when it was thought best to remove his teachers to the Moscow Academy in 1708, he established with the income of his diocese three hospitals, two refuges, and an orphan asylum. The first real hospital in Russia had been set up out of the funds of the Department of Monasteries by Músin-Púshkin in 1706, and with it he connected a school for medicine and surgery. Mitrophán, Bishop of Voronezh, who had had constant opportunities of becoming acquainted with Peter during his visits to

Vorónezh, exerted himself to allay the discontent of the peasantry and to bring them to work steadily on the fleet, but more than that, after war had broken out, he sent 6,000 rubles from his private purse to the Tsar for military purposes, and afterwards every year sent all he could spare from the needs of his churches, either to the Tsar or to the Admiralty, with the simple inscription 'For the troops.'

Such was the sum and substance of the reforms in government and legislation up to the battle of Poltáva. A year and a half afterwards, on the very day of the proclamation of the war with Turkey, on March 6, 1711, a decree was issued calculated to make an important change in the government. This was the creation of the Senate intended to govern the country during the absence of the Tsar. As the Council of Boyárs had insensibly passed into the Privy Chancery, so now the Senate took the place of this body. It was composed of nine members: Count Músin-Púshkin, Stréshnef, Prince Peter Golítsyn, Prince Michael Dolgorúky, Plemiánnikof, Prince Gregory Volkónsky, the Paymaster-General Samárin, Opúkhtin, and Melnítsky. Anísim Stchúkin was appointed chief secretary. By a subsequent decree every official, whether clerical or lay, military or civil, was instructed to obey the orders of the governing Senate as those of the Tsar, under pain of severe punishment, even of death, according to the crime. In case the interests of any private individual were injured by the action of the Senate the Tsar begged them to be silent during his absence, and on his return to lay before him their complaints, fortified by written proofs, when they would receive full justice and the guilty would be punished. The powers of the new institution were of the most extensive character. It was to insure justice in the tribunals, to watch over the expenditure of the Government and prevent all that was unnecessary, 'to collect as much money as possible, for money is the artery of war,' to enroll young nobles to fill vacancies as officers, 'especially those who try to conceal themselves,' to see to the exact fulfilment of contracts made with the Government, to manage the salt monopoly, to farm out the trade with China, to increase the trade with Persia, to attract Armenians into the country, and to institute a service of fiscal agents in every department of the Govern-

ment. These fiscals,[1] as they were popularly called, were nothing else than spies and informers, and were to be rewarded with one half of the penalties exacted in consequence of their information.

In order to insure speedy and regular communications between the Senate and the provinces, the Governors were obliged to maintain commissaries at Moscow, and these commissaries to send their despatches by special messengers to the Governors. The slowness of the Governors frequently wore out the patience of the Tsar as may be seen from a letter of his to Menshikóf, dated February 17, 1711: 'Up to now God knows in what grief I am, for the Governors follow the example of crabs in transacting their business, the last term of which was fixed for Thursday in the first week of Lent, and therefore I shall now deal with them, not with words but with hands.' Menshikóf was no exception to this crab-like procedure, especially in furnishing the 'artery of war.' On the 3d of March Peter wrote to him: 'Inform me what merchandize you have, how much has been sold, when, and where the money has gone, for I have asked Stchúkin about it, and he says that he knows nothing whatever. Thus we know no more about your government than about a foreign country.' On the creation of the Senate, Peter himself informed Menshikóf that his government must like the rest be subordinate to that body.[2]

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[1] Although this system of fiscal agents has long since been abolished, the word *fiscal* is still the popular name among the Russian peasantry for a spy or for an agent of the secret police.

[2] Soloviéf, xv., xvi.; Ustriálof, iv.; Gólikof, iii., iv.; *Complete Collection of Russian Laws.*

LVIII.

DISCONTENT—1700-1710.

We remember what dissatisfaction greeted the first innovations of Peter. Nevertheless the distasteful changes continued. The war began: taxation and recruiting bore heavily on all classes, but especially on the peasants. After the Streltsi had been crushed, there was nothing about which an organized opposition could be grouped; there were no natural leaders or parties who could take up the cause of the people. The protests against the despotism of Peter took the form either of dissent or of rioting and brigandage. The Cossacks and half wild people on the southern and eastern frontiers received accessions of strength in many men animated by fanaticism and embittered by persecution. In the more central districts of Russia the discontent showed itself in violent and 'unseemly' speech, in rumours and predictions which, though comparatively harmless, were pursued and punished. What sort of 'unseemly' talk was current we can learn from the abundant records of the tribunal of Preobrazhénsky. Every denunciation was followed by a rigid investigation, and every investigation, whether it showed guilt or innocence, was attended by inhuman tortures. A peasant, for example, groaned out: 'Since God has sent him to be the Tsar we have no happy days. The village is weighed down with furnishing rubles and half rubles, and horses and carts, and there is no rest for us peasants.' A Boyár's son complained, 'What sort of a Tsar is he? He has forced us all into the service, he has seized upon our people and peasants for recruits. Nowhere can you get away from him. Everyone is lost. He even goes into the service himself, and yet no one kills him. If they only killed him the service would stop, and it would be easier for the peo-

ple.' Some peasant women and soldiers' wives cried out: 'What sort of a Tsar is he? He has completely ruined the peasants, carried off our husbands to be soldiers, and left us and our children orphans to pass all our lives in weeping.' A serf said: 'If he lives long he will ruin all of us. I am astonished that people have not put him out of the way before now. He rides about early and late at night, with few people and alone. It is not a good time for the Germans now, because his father-in-law Lefort is dead. What sort of a Tsar is he? He is the deadly enemy of the peasants, and if he rides long enough about Moscow he will lose his head one of these days.' A beggar said: 'The Germans have got the better of him. One hour strikes, all is well. Another strikes, there is groaning and weeping. Now he has even attacked God—he has taken the bells out of the churches.'

The change in the popular feeling towards the sovereign was very perceptible. In the time of the Tsar Alexis the people had many causes for discontent, but they threw the blame on Plestchéief, Morózof, and other Boyárs and ministers of the Tsar, whom they considered to be the real causes of their troubles. Peter was no longer the demi-god who remained quietly in his palace or appeared only in state, ready to interfere to protect his people against the rapacity and the injustice of the Boyárs. He had too often been seen in the streets and neighbourhood of Moscow consorting with foreigners. He had shown his personal will too often during the executions of the Streltsi, at Vorónezh and elsewhere, for the people not to understand that the Government was different, that the Tsar was the life and soul of it. Their blame then was directed against him alone. The popular mind needed some explanation of this strange phenomenon, and the first was ready to hand. 'The Germans had got round him, had bewitched him.' Following German fashions he had ordered them to cut off their beards. He would probably go still further. 'The Tsar had travelled beyond the sea, and had fallen in love with the German faith. He is going to compel the monks to drink milk on Wednesdays and Fridays.' But the explanation of German influence did not seem sufficient. The popular imagination embroidered on this and began to enquire whether after all Peter was the real

Tsar, the son of Alexis. In 1701 Prince Basil Sóntsef was executed for two murders and two robberies. Surely his crimes were enough, but he had committed even a greater one. He had said that the Princess Sophia had called Peter 'son of a Strelets.' But this accusation explained nothing. At last the popular fancy hit on what seemed sufficient. Peter was the son of a German and a changeling. The real child of the Tsaritsa Natalia was a girl, and as she greatly wished an heir to the throne, the midwives had changed it for a boy from the German Suburb,—even for the son of Lefort. But the legend did not stop here. The Tsar had gone abroad, rumours had come of the unpleasantness at Riga. It was said that the foreigners had killed him, and sent one of their own men back to Russia to take his place and to turn all the Orthodox away from Christianity. This fancy took the form of a fairy tale. 'When the Tsar and his companions were beyond the sea, he went into the German lands and was in Stekólnoe, the realm of glass (Stockholm). Now the realm of glass in the German land is ruled by a woman, and that woman made mock at the Tsar, and put him on a hot frying-pan, and then taking him out of the frying-pan had him thrown into prison. When it was the name's day of that woman, her princes and Boyárs asked her for the sake of this feast to let out the Tsar. She answered: "Go and look; if he is still turning round I will let him out at your request." The princes and Boyárs went and looked at the Tsar and said: "He is weak, oh! mistress?" Then she said: "Since he is weak bring him out." So they brought him out and set him free. Then he came to our Boyárs, and our Boyárs crossed themselves, made a cask and nailed it full of nails, and wished to put him into that cask, but one of the Streltsi found it out, and running up to the Tsar's bed said: "Oh! lord Tsar, get up and go away. You know nothing of what is to be done with you." And the Tsar got up and went away, and that Strelets lay on the bed in his place, and the Boyárs came, and dragging that Strelets from the bed put him into that cask and rolled him into the sea.' This story leaves it uncertain what became of Peter, but evil tongues set afloat a rumour that he had been killed abroad. 'This is not our lord, he is a German. Our Tsar was nailed up in a cask by the Germans and thrown into the sea.'

The opponents of the innovations went still further. The Dissenters and in general the religiously disposed Russian peasantry, were greatly given to apocalyptic teachings and to explanations of the biblical mysteries. They had seen the fulfilment of prophecies in Nikon and Alexis, and were ready to be convinced that Peter, with the changes which he had made in the sacred and established order of things, was the true Anti-Christ.

The fate of one expounder of the doctrine of Anti-Christ created much sympathy. In the year 1700 information had been given to the Tribunal of Preobrazhensky that a scribe named Gregory Talítsky used all sorts of injurious and unseemly epithets about the Tsar, and was engraving some boards in order to print a pamphlet and distribute it among the people. He fled, but was soon caught. On the application of torture he confessed to having written a letter to the effect that the last times had now arrived, that Anti-Christ was come, and to having advised the people to refuse to obey the Tsar, who was Anti-Christ, or pay the taxes, and to having recommended them to search for Prince Tcherkásky, who wished good to the people. Among his accomplices were Ignatius, Bishop of Tambóf, who had encouraged him to write and print pamphlets, and Prince Ivan Havánsky, who blamed himself for having taken part in one of the revels of the court where sport had been made of religion, and where he himself had acted the part of a Metropolitan. Talítsky and his most faithful supporter were slowly burned or rather smoked to death, as Vockerodt tells us. Others were knouted and sent to Siberia, and the Bishop of Tambóf was degraded and imprisoned for life in the Solovétsky Monastery. Prince Havánsky died from his tortures before the end of the trial. Stephan Yavórsky tried to refute the teachings of Talítsky in a pamphlet called 'The Signs of the Coming of Anti-Christ,' but, as usually happens, his arguments, which Vockerodt calls very weak, were read only by those who had no need of being convinced. The Government circulated the story that Talítsky had recanted at the stake, but the belief of many ignorant men was not shaken. The fame of Talítsky as a martyr added to the reputation which he was said to have gained during the torture in a dispute with the Bishop of Riazán, spread among

the people. Persons of higher rank, even Peter's son Alexis, were interested in him, and in after years Peter's daughter Elizabeth collected documents with regard to this affair.

Moscow came to be looked upon as a sinful and unholy Babylon. All the officials of the Tsar were the servants of Anti-Christ. Menshikóf, as Peter's special favourite, was said to have abandoned Christianity and to be surrounded by swarms of devils. The little cross pricked into the left hand of the recruits to mark them was everywhere called the seal of Anti-Christ. The inhabitants of whole villages fled to the wastes of the north, east, and south-east, and lived in woods and on the steppes to avoid contact with unholiness.

A curious specimen of the apocalyptic teachings of the Dissenters of this time is to be found in an old manuscript from the Solovétsky Monastery, preserved at Kazan. 'The Apostle says first comes a falling away, then is revealed the man of sin, the son of perdition, the Anti-Christ. First came the falling away from the holy faith by the Tsar Alexis in the year 666,[1] the number of the beast, thus fulfilling the prophecy. And after him there reigned on the throne his first-born son Peter, from his second and unlawful marriage. He was consecrated to the throne of all the Russias by the Jewish laws from head to foot, showing that he is the false Messiah and the false Christ, as the Sibyl prophecied about him that a Jewish Tsar will reign. And that false Christ began to set himself up and be called God by all, persecuting and torturing all orthodox Christians, destroying their memory from the face of the earth, spreading his new Jewish faith throughout all Russia. In the year 1700, to the accomplishment of his wickedness, and on the festival of the circumcision of Christ, he called together a heathenish court and erected a temple to the heathen god Janus, and before all the people practised all sorts of magic rites and all called out "*vivat! vivat! the New Year*," and he sent to all parts of the realm the command to feast for the new year, thus breaking the laws of the Fathers, who in the first Oecumenical Council commanded the feast of the New Year to be

[1] It is very common in old Russian books to find the first figure of dates omitted. The year 666 meant the year 1666, the date of the Council of Moscow, and of the armed attack on the Solovétsky Monastery.

on the 1st of September. In the year 1721 he took upon himself the Patriarchal title, calling himself Father of the Country, Head of the Russian Church, and Autocrat, having no one on an equality with himself, taking craftily to himself not only the power of the Tsar, but also the authority of God, and claiming to be an autocratic pastor, a headless head over all opponents of Christ, Anti-Christ. Therefore must we conceal ourselves in the deserts, just as the Prophet Jeremiah ordered the children of God to flee from Babylon. The years of the Lord have passed; the years of Satan have come.'[1]

[1] Soloviéf, xv.; Esipof, *Old people;* Papers of the Secret Tribunal of Preobrazénsky.

A PEASANT OF THE VOLGA.

LIX.

REBELLION—1705-1709.

The southern and south-eastern frontier, where the Cossacks and wild tribes lived in the neighborhood of each other, served as a refuge for deserters and runaways of all kinds, and contained a population ready at all times to follow the lead of agitators. The great rebellions of Russian history, those of Bolótnikof and Zarútsky in the seventeenth century, of Sténka Rázin in the time of Alexis, and Pugatchéf in the time of Catherine II., all broke out here. In this region it was therefore to be expected that the opposition to Peter's reforms and changes would take a stronger form than elsewhere, and we find in rapid succession the revolt at Astrakhán, that of the Bashkirs, and the rebellion of the Don Cossacks under Bulávin. Astrakhán, at the mouth of the Volga, where many of the families of the Streltsi had been exiled, was a hotbed of dissent. The population had bitter remembrances of the executions of 1699, was opposed to the innovations of dress, and was discontented with the heavy taxes. The wildest stories about Peter's birth and intentions found here ready credence. A certain Stepan of Moscow, two of whose uncles had been executed among the Strelsi, excited by the talk of those about him, set out for Astrakhán, and, at Kolómna, found another uncle who said to him: 'You would do a good work if you stirred up the people in Astrakhán. The men of the Don and of the Yaík will also rise. Who then can stand against you? The Tsar is fighting with Sweden, the towns are empty, what few men are left also wish to rise and will be glad of what you do, for now it is possible to establish the old faith.' He gave him at the same time a letter in which it was said that four Boyárs were governing Moscow and intended to divide the country into four

parts. When Stepan arrived at Astrakhán in 1705, he began to spread about the stories of the birth and intentions of the Tsar which he had heard in Moscow, first quietly and then more diligently as he found believers. There came about the same time rumours that the Tsar was dead or imprisoned in Stockholm, chained to a pillar, and that an impostor reigned at Moscow. Opposition began to show itself against the officials, and especially against Rzhéfsky, the Voievode, who like other officials was thought by the people to have abandoned Christianity, and who was hated for his cruelty and extortion. Some exhorted the crowd that it was necessary to stake their lives for such holy things, and a tax gatherer who had orders to collect fines from those who still wished to wear the old Russian clothes, positively refused to obey and declared that he would sooner die than let his beard be shaved. A little afterwards a rumour was suddenly spread in the bazaars that no Russian men would be allowed to marry for seven years, but that all the girls were to be married to the Germans who were daily expected to arrive from Kazán. The excitement was tremendous. The population resolved to frustrate these plans by marrying their children before the hated Germans arrived, and on one Sunday, the 9th of August, a hundred couples were married. The wine and whiskey of the wedding feasts went to the heads of the guests, and that night a band of the populace attacked the Government buildings and massacred several officers, some of them foreigners, as well as the wife of a German officer, who had previously said derisively that the Russian soldiers would also soon eat meat during Lent. The Voievode was not found until the next day, when he was immediately beheaded. The insurgents organized a government for the town in Cossack fashion, and elected Vósof, a merchant of Yarosláv, as their Ataman. The fact that the leaders of the tumult included merchants from Yarosláv, Moscow, Nízhni-Nóvgorod, Uglitch and the other northern towns, showed that the rising did not have a merely local character. From the proclamations issued by the insurgents it is evident that although religious and fanatical opposition to beard-shaving and foreign clothes were in part reasons for the revolt, there were others in the heavy taxes on baths and on salt, the bridge tolls and the restrictions on the

fish trade. After complaining of the introduction of tobacco, of the beard-shaving, of the insults offered to their wives by cutting their long clothes, they said: 'The Voievodes and officers practised all kinds of idol worship and wished to compel us to it. But we have not allowed this to happen, but have taken the idols out of the dwellings of the officials and officers.' These 'idols' turned out to be the wig-blocks on which the officials kept their perukes. Such an idea is of a piece with the belief that Peter wished to introduce the worship of the heathen god Janus because he celebrated the new year on the 1st of January.

There was great panic and commotion at Moscow when the news came of the rising, for it was feared that the movement might spread to the Cossacks, and that there might even be difficulties in the central provinces. Peter, who was then at Mitau, immediately sent to Astrakhán the Field-Marshal Sheremétief with several regiments, and in frequent letters begged him not to delay, but to hasten as fast as possible to Kazán. He ordered Stréshnef to remove the Government treasure from Moscow and bury or conceal it. He thought also that it would be better to remove the arms from the city, and in order that news of the disturbances should not reach the enemy, ordered the temporary cessation of the foreign post from Moscow. Quieting intelligence was received that the insurgents of Astrakhán could find no allies. The Cossacks of the Térek replied to the invitation, that while they thoroughly sympathized with the men of Astrakhán, they could give them no aid, as they could not leave their wives and families to the mercy of the Tartars and the mountaineers. The men of the Don answered that they themselves had not yet suffered any oppression on the part of the Tsar, and still clung to the old Russian habits, as there was not a tailor among them who knew how to make German clothes.

Wishing to see whether affairs could not be arranged without the use of force, Peter sent to Astrakhán Kisélnikof, a merchant of that town, to receive the complaints of the citizens and with promises of mercy. The Tsar's promises had a good effect, and deputies were sent to Moscow from Astrakhán to state their griefs. These complaints were with regard to the innovations in dress and the oppressive taxes. Among other

things it was said that many people had had pieces of their flesh cut away while their beards had been forcibly shaved, that Rzhéfsky had kept back part of the pay of the garrison, had levied taxes on baths, cellars, smoke-houses, laundries, and brew-houses, and even on the grinding of knives and hatchets, that he had ill-treated and imprisoned the wives and children of the soldiers who had gone to the Swedish war on account of arrears of taxes, that he had enriched himself by intrigues, extortion, monopolies, and dishonesty of all kinds, that he had compelled the soldiers to render such services in winter that some had been frozen to death, that he had forced the inhabitants to furnish without pay carts and rafts, that the German officers had forced the soldiers to eat meat on fast days and had ill-treated their wives and daughters, that even the Swedish prisoners, who had been given important posts, had oppressed them, etc., etc. This statement made a deep impression in Moscow, and Golovín resolved to ask the Tsar for unconditional amnesty. He wrote, 'I have talked for some time with them and they seem faithful and honest people. Deign, sir, even to force yourself to show them mercy. Even we are not without rascals.' The King of Poland also said a good word for the insurgents, and the Tsar willingly or unwillingly yielded to their counsel. The deputies were sent back with a written promise of amnesty for all, and each was given fifty rubles for his expenses. The Tsar ordered discretion to be used in collecting the taxes in this region, and told Sheremétief to avoid as much as possible any bloodshed and use great caution in dealing with the people.

Meanwhile, however, the army of Sheremétief was still advancing and he had excepted the leaders of the insurrection from the amnesty. The violent party again got the upper hand, treated the messenger of Sheremétief with rudeness, insulted the Tsar, refused to drink to his health, accused him of want of piety, of having turned the Christian religion into a Latin one, of being strong only through witchcraft, of being himself bewitched, and threatened in the spring to march to Moscow and destroy the German suburb. When Sheremétief approached the walls, the insurgents instead of yielding came out and attacked him. The forces of the Field-Marshal were too strong for them, and the resistance was short. The insur-

gents held out a little longer in the Kremlin, and then all begged for mercy. When Sheremétief entered the town the people by thousands lay flat on the ground on each side of the street asking for forgiveness. With his mind enlarged by travel and education, Sheremétief found it impossible to enter into the narrow fanatical views of the revolt. He wrote to Golovín that while it was absolutely necessary to arrest the leaders, it was difficult, as they exercised so much influence in the town. 'Nósof,' he said, 'is a great rascal and a Dissenter. But all fear him, and no one dares to speak to him with his head covered. I have never seen such a tremendously crazy rabble. They are puffed up with malice and belief that we have fallen away from Orthodoxy—puffed up and confirmed in their folly.' Hundreds of them were sent to Moscow and three hundred and sixty-five men were executed—many of them broken on the wheel—or died during the examination, which lasted for a long time, because it was hoped by repeated torture to obtain a clue to some connection of the rebels with the populace of Moscow. Astrakhán was taken by Sheremétief on the 23d of March, 1706, but the executions took place on the 19th of February, 1708, when seventy rebels were beheaded, five broken on the wheel.

The Tsar was greatly relieved when the rebellion was finally put down. He thanked Sheremétief for his triumph and victory over these accursed rascals, and rewarded him with an increase of salary and large estates. He celebrated the victory with a banquet at Menshikóf's house in St. Petersburg, while Menshikóf had a salute fired at Kief.

The wild populations of Asia have always been ready enough to swear allegiance to Russia when sufficient inducements have been offered, but at the same time have always considered that this was a contract from which they could withdraw at pleasure. Early in 1705 symptoms were seen of a commotion among the Bashkirs, who felt themselves aggrieved by some new regulations. The danger was plainly pointed out by Sheremétief in 1706, but a rebellion did not begin until 1708. It was then in part due to the intrigues of a Bashkir Sultan who travelled backward and forward between Constantinople and the Crimea, and who endeavoured to gain the alliance of the Khan and the

protection of the Sultan. Disturbances first broke out on the line of the Térek. After exciting the mountaineers, the Bashkir leader succeeded in getting off to his own country and raising the whole of the Bashkirs of the Steppe. Ravaging and pillaging the lands of the Russian colonists and of the Votiaks on the Volga, the Bashkirs advanced to within twenty miles of Kazán, and it required several expeditions and numerous successful fights to reduce them to submission. Order began to be restored in the spring of 1709, but the rebellion had cost the Russians three hundred and three burned villages, and nearly thirteen thousand men killed or led into Asiatic captivity.

The burdens of the State, increased as they were by the war, fell chiefly if not exclusively upon the peasants. In spite of the numerous laws, so frequently repeated during the reign of Alexis and his successors, to bind the serfs to the soil, they had a constant tendency to run away from their masters, to emigrate to the frontiers of the empire where they could be rid of the tax collector and the recruiting sergeant, and the constant interference of official authority, where they could live as they pleased, serve God according to the dictates of their conscience and freely dispose of the fruits of their labour. The more stringent the measures to enforce the laws, the more anxious were the lower classes to escape from them, and the greater the hatred of the common people towards the nobility. The landed proprietors claimed that they were unable to comply with the demands of the State because they had no serfs to send as recruits or to work their fields. The continuance of this state of things threatened the northern and more unproductive provinces with depopulation. During January and February, 1706, twenty-six families belonging to a single village, the property of a convent in the town of Shuya, left their homes and were not again heard of. Where the communications with the Cossacks were easier—for all fled to them—the state of things was much worse. The peasants collected to cut timber and build ships at Voronezh ran away to escape the heavy work and the fevers which decimated them. Nothing was so hated as the forced labour at Azof, and criminals of every kind left this penal colony for the Don. The army of Sheremétief in passing from the Volga to Kief lost large numbers by desertion. The Gov-

ernment continually demanded from the Don Cossacks the surrender of such deserters and fugitives as well as the demolition of certain new settlements of Dissenters on the Medvéditsa, and the foundation of others on the road to Azof. Occasionally a few deserters were given up, but these orders remained in general unexecuted. The settlements were not changed but increased. Although the Tsar sent new standards and emblems to the Don Cossacks for their loyal behaviour during the revolt at Astrakhán, yet he still demanded the surrender of the fugitives and the demolition of the new settlements. Finally, Prince Dolgorúky with a detachment of soldiers appeared on the Don to enforce the execution of the Tsar's decrees. This was an attack on the privileges of the Cossacks, and excited commotion. The leaders began to discuss whether after all the men of Astrakhán were not in the right. Dolgorúky was received with all due honours at Tcherkásk, but when he proceeded to arrest the fugitives a band of Cossacks, under the leadership of Kondráty Bulávin, Atamán of Bakhmút, attacked him on the river Aidar on the 20th of October, 1707. The Russians were killed to the last man. Those who remained loyal to the Government collected and defeated Bulávin's band. They wrote to the Tsar as proof of their loyalty, that they had punished the prisoners by cutting off their noses, hanging them up by the feet, by whipping them and by shooting them to death. Peter at first thought the movement had been stopped, but Bulávin, who had sought refuge among the Zaporovians of the Dniéper, soon returned with larger bands. In his earlier proclamations he invoked the name of Sténka Rázin, still popular in song and legend, and invited all those who wished to lead a merry robber life, to eat and drink well, to ride on fine horses and to have rich booty; but he soon changed his tone and made that appeal to religious feelings which had been so successful elsewhere. He spoke of the necessity of rising 'to defend the house of God's holy mother and the Christian church against the heathen and Hellenic teachings which the Boyárs and Germans wished to introduce.' The poor, the peasants, the prisoners were everywhere, he said, the confederates of the Cossacks, who could reckon also on the Zaporovians and on the men of the Térek. He tried to gain over the workmen of the Térek, who were cutting timber

for the fleet. Tolstói, the Governor of Azof, sent his troops against the rebels. Many soldiers deserted, the rest were totally beaten. The disorder spread towards the centre of Russia. Villages in the neighbourhood of Tambóf and Tula were burned, and the inhabitants of these large towns were armed for defence. One proclamation of Bulávin, dated May, 1708, after he had captured the important town of Tcherkásk, the capital of the Cossack settlement on the Don, stated his intention of asking the assistance of the Sultan against the Tsar.

Numerous letters of Peter to his friends show his anxiety. At one time he was on the point of starting himself for the scene of troubles. He ordered Prince Basil Dolgorúky, the brother of the one who had been killed, to march against the insurgents and 'put out the fire once for all,' burning villages, and impaling and breaking on the wheel the inhabitants, in order to deter the wavering from rebellion. He recommended him to study the history of the rebellion of Sténka Rázin, where another Dolgorúky had been notorious. His letter ended with the phrase: 'These locusts cannot be treated otherwise than with cruelty.' In another letter written at a cooler moment he recommended Dolgorúky to treat the repentant with clemency, and not to use blind terrorism lest he should be thought to be actuated by motives of revenge for the murder of his brother. Dolgorúky was in great perplexity. His own troops were deserting, there was great danger for Azof and Taganróg, the Zaporovians were on the march, and he was fettered by the changing instructions of the Tsar. The attack on Azof was repulsed after the Cossacks had succeeded in getting possession of the suburb inhabited by the sailors, and Dolgorúky finally succeeded in beating the Cossacks in detail, for Bulávin had had the imprudence to divide his army. This was no exception to the general history of such insurrections in Russia. There were always half-hearted rebels who, out of motives of jealousy or personal revenge, were ready to betray their chief and to deliver him into the hands of the Government. Some of these begged the Tsar to withdraw his troops, as otherwise all the Cossacks would flee to the Kubán, and Peter, though bent on severe measures, hesitated and gave orders for stopping the march. Bulávin, in order to escape from

some Cossacks who wished to surrender him, blew his brains out in July, 1708. Nevertheless the rebellion lingered on for some time until the troops under Peter Havánsky had advanced from the Volga, and there was a bloody fight at Pánshin on the Don in September, where the deserters from the regular army defended themselves with the courage of despair. Smaller detached bands fought on until late in the autumn, but at last quiet was restored. Many villages and forts on the affluents of the Don were burned by the express command of the Tsar, who desired to destroy the refuges of the fugitive peasants and Dissenters. The young men were sent off to other provinces. As to the aged, the women and the children, Apráxin wrote to the Tsar, 'these will disappear of themselves.' Part of the prisoners were executed, several Atamans as well as some dissenting monks who had performed religious services and had prayed for the success of the rebels, were quartered. A couple of hundred were hanged on gallows raised on rafts, which were sent floating down the Don to warn all the dwellers on the stream.[1]

[1] Soloviéf, xv.; Ustriálof, iv.; Gólikof, iv.

LX.

ST. PETERSBURG MADE SECURE—1710.

The festivities for the great victory of Poltáva were scarcely over when the Tsar was called upon to receive in solemn audience Whitworth, who had come on a special mission from the English Court to apologise for the insult offered to Matvéief, the Russian Minister in London.

After the failure of his negotiations in London in 1708,[1] Matvéief had been ordered by the Tsar to proceed to the Low Countries. In paying his bills before his departure, he had occasion to verify one of about fifty pounds. The impatient creditor obtained a writ, and the sheriff's officers arrested Matvéief while driving, forcibly took him from his carriage and imprisoned him. The outraged minister was bailed out as soon as his friends heard of his plight, and supported by his colleagues of the diplomatic body, whose rights were thus invaded, complained the next day to the Queen, and immediately left England without waiting for a farewell audience. From the Hague Matvéief made frequent requests for satisfaction, and the Tsar, when he heard of the incident, demanded that the Sheriff of Middlesex and all others concerned in the affront should be punished with instant death. This was of course impossible, and the Queen replied that she could inflict no punishment upon any, the meanest of her subjects, unless warranted by the law of the land, and therefore was persuaded that the Tsar would not insist upon impossibilities. There were

[1] See vol. ii., p. 84. We find a curious entry in *Luttrell*, Saturday, October 18, 1707. The Muscovite Ambassador has complained against Daniel De Foe, for the following expression in his review of Thursday last: 'Money makes Christians fight for the Turks; money hires servants to the devil, nay, to the very Czar of Muscovy.'

indeed difficulties, because there was no law which punished the aggressors. The persons concerned in the arrest were examined before the Privy Council, seventeen were imprisoned and tried before Lord Chief Justice Holt, and convicted of the facts by the jury. The question of the criminality of the act was reserved for argument before the judges, and the case was obliged to rest there. The offenders were never brought up for judgment. It became necessary to pass a special Act of Parliament by which such offenders should be punished in future.[1] It was a copy of this Act, splendidly engrossed and illuminated, that Whitworth was instructed to present to the Tsar, together with the excuse of the Queen 'that she could not inflict such a punishment as was required, because of the defect in that particular of the former established constitution of her kingdom, yet, with the unanimous consent of the Parliament she had caused a new law to be passed, to serve as a law for the future.' The other foreign ambassadors and ministers at Moscow were present at the audience given to Whitworth, and for their benefit the speech of the ambassador and the letter of the Queen were translated into German as well as Russian. The Tsar expressed himself as satisfied with the apology, the more so as he was given the title of Emperor, according to the old usage, which had of late been interrupted. Golófkin demanded that the imperial title be henceforth constantly used, and Whitworth consented.[2]

Although Charles XII. had been so signally defeated at Poltáva, and was in exile, the war was by no means over. It was necessary for Peter to strain every nerve to complete the conquest of the Swedish provinces on the Finnish Gulf, while the King was still powerless; and this was the more imperative because the relations with Turkey were strained, and Swedish and Austrian intrigues might at any moment cause a fresh outbreak of hostilities in that quarter.

Major Nostitz had already been instructed to attack Elbing,

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[1] 7 Anne, c. 12.

[2] This case, as marking a precedent, is frequently referred to in the law books. The full papers may be found in *Lamberty's Mémoires pour servir*, v., and in Martens, *Causes Célèbres du Droit des gens*, vol. i., Leipzig, 1858. See also Blackstone's *Commentaries*, i. 255.

the last town in Polish Prussia occupied by the Swedes, who had there a garrison of about 900 men. Elbing was soon taken by assault, and Nostitz received the Tsar's portrait set in brilliants as his reward, for which, however, he rendered poor thanks, for after extorting 250,000 Polish ducats from the magistracy of the town, he deserted with his booty. Peter had him hanged in effigy. By a secret article of the Treaty of Marienwerder the Tsar had agreed to cede Elbing to Prussia, but as the King refused to carry out his part of the treaty, this article remained for the present in abeyance.

Peter arrived at St. Petersburg from Moscow in the first week of March, and after conferring on Admiral Apráxin the rank of Count and Privy Councillor, sent him off with the forces which had already been collected to begin the siege of Viborg. He wrote to Menshikóf, 'The preparations for both the winter and the spring campaigns will be complete in due time, and there is no delay except that the horses are brought in slowly. However, we hope even these will arrive in good time. A good store of grain has been got together, and the biscuits and groats are all ready. But when I look about more, and see what still has to be done here, I will not stop to write to you; only I wish God would arrange your matters as quickly [Menshikóf had already been sent directly to Riga from Moscow], and give us to see you here, so that as a reward for your labours you could be in all respects a partaker with us of the beauty of this paradise, in which you were and are a good partner of our toils. This I wish from my heart. We give you and your household to the mercy and keeping of the Lord. Our household likewise greets yours.'

Busy for a while with completing the naval regulations, and with giving instructions to Dolgorúky about Danish politics, the Tsar, as soon as the Neva began to get clear from ice, started with his fleet from Kronslot. The winter was late, and although it was May 9 when the fleet set out for Viborg, the amount of ice in the Gulf rendered navigation very difficult, and the small vessel which carried the Tsar was exposed to imminent danger. It required great exertions to prevent the loss of the ships laden with provisions. Peter felt repaid for his personal exertions and dangers, for he arrived with the provi-

sions before Viborg at a time when the army of Apráxin was reduced to great straits by cold and hunger. The Russians had succeeded in surrounding the town, but they were at too great a distance for their artillery to take effect, and Finland was in too impoverished a condition to yield them any subsistence. The town itself and the Swedish garrison likewise suffered much. The harvest had been bad for several years, and everything in the way of money or treasure had been seized by the Swedes and taken to Stockholm. The Russian forces were now increased to about 23,000 men; and Peter, after drawing up a plan for the attack of the town, and giving instructions that it must be taken at all hazards, returned to Kronslot, barely escaping capture by the Swedish fleet.

He was busy in St. Petersburg until June 21, suffering at the same time from illness. Hearing that the siege of Viborg was nearly ended, he wrote to Apráxin, 'I hear that you intend making the assault to-day. If this has already been ordered, God aid you; but if it is not fixed for to-day, then put it off till Sunday or Monday, when I can get there, for this is the last day that I take medicine, and to-morrow I shall be free.' The Tsar arrived just in time to see the capitulation of the town. The Swedish officers and soldiers were at first released on parole, but before they had quitted the town a circumstance was brought to the Tsar's knowledge which compelled him reluctantly to break the agreement. There had been for years much difficulty with regard to the exchange of prisoners; officers who had been released on parole had served again against Russia; Prince Hilkof had not been released, although Knipercrona had long been in Stockholm. The Tsar had appealed to the other powers, but without success. Now the Tsar's yacht, carrying a flag of truce as well as the imperial standard, with letters from Swedish prisoners (the exchange of which in this way had been customary), had been taken by a Swedish vessel, the captain of which not only detained it, but in an insulting way tore up the Tsar's flag. Peter therefore recalled the freedom given to the officers and soldiers captured at Viborg, allowing those only to depart who were wounded and ill, as well as the widows and children of those who had been killed, and sending the Swedish commander with a message to the senate at Stockholm, de-

manding full reparation for the insult offered him. The number thus detained amounted to 154 officers and 3,726 men.

The capture of Viborg and the subsequent occupation of Kexholm and all Karelia, afforded Peter great satisfaction. He now felt that St. Petersburg was secure. A suitable distance

Views in Riga.

lay between it and the frontier. It was no longer subject to surprises by Swedish troops. From Viborg Peter wrote to Sheremétief, 'And thus through the taking of this town final safety has been gained for St. Petersburg;' and to Catherine, 'Already, by God's help, it is a strong pillow for St. Petersburg.'

Riga, which had suffered much from the pest, finally capitu-

lated to Sheremétief in July, and the fall of this town was speedily followed by that of Pernau in August, and Reval in September, as well as by the surrender of the islands of Dago and Oesel. Thus, as Peter wrote to Kurbátof, 'The last town has surrendered, and Livonia and Esthonia are entirely cleared of the enemy. In a word, the enemy does not now possess a single town on the left side of the East Sea, not even an inch of land. It is now incumbent upon us to pray the Lord God for a good peace.' Kurbátof replied in triumphant terms: 'Now the riches of Europe can find an entrance into Russia, and Archangel can no longer boast of being the only port.'

The capitulations of these towns were similar in tenor, and 150 years later became the cause of discussion and difficulty. By them the Tsar guaranteed to the nobility and gentry all their privileges, rights, customs, immunities, possessions, and courts of justice, both temporal and spiritual. The freedom of the Lutheran Church was established; it was agreed that the churches and schools should remain Lutheran; the privileges of the towns themselves were in every respect to be maintained; no changes were to be made in the courts, the administration of justice, or in the municipal governments; and the German language was to be maintained as that of the administration. At this time the Russians had not awaked to the fact that the Germans of the Baltic provinces constituted a very small minority of the population. The rights and privileges of the University, then at Pernau, and later changed to Dorpat, were expressly guaranteed. But in order that Russians might be sent thither arrangements were made for teaching Slavonic, and for the exercise of the orthodox religion. The garrison of Riga was allowed to return to Sweden, but the native inhabitants were compelled to take the oath of allegiance. When the capitulation was brought to the Tsar for confirmation, he, as in the case of Viborg, felt obliged to detain the garrison to the number of 4,500 men as prisoners, until the Russians taken at Narva in 1700 should be exchanged. The Governor-General, Strömberg, was brought to St. Petersburg, and treated with proper honour, but was soon exchanged for General Weyde.

Meanwhile the pest, which had raged among the Swedish troops, had made its appearance in the Russian army, and in

spite of the physicians was beginning to approach St. Petersburg, and appeared near Narva and in the provinces of Pskof and Nóvgorod. Severe quarantine measures were necessary, to which Peter gave great personal attention.

During the summer the Tsar made a trip through Lake Lágoda to visit Kexholm, and subsequently went by sea to Reval, where for the benefit of the inhabitants he established a public garden, named, in honour of Catherine, Catherinenthal, the ornamentation of which occupied him for many years, and which is still a pleasant place of resort. He also took measures for beautifying Riga, and for alleviating the lot of the poor inhabitants of the province. In Finland he was struck by the wretched shoes of the peasantry, and in order to teach better habits sent from the province of Nóvgorod a number of peasants skilled in weaving bark sandals worn by the Russians.

On returning to St. Petersburg, he consecrated his victories by founding above the town a monastery in honour of St. Alexander Nefsky, that canonised prince who in 1241 had defended his country against the Swedes on the Neva. The imperial villa of Tsárskoe-Seló, near St. Petersburg, was begun about the same time, on land which had been given to Catherine.

After conquering Livonia and Esthonia, Peter strengthened himself also in Curland by the marriage of his niece Anna Ivanovna with Frederick William, the young Duke of Curland. This marriage had been agreed upon in a treaty with the King of Prussia, the preliminary arrangements had been made during the spring with Prince Menshikóf, and the betrothal had taken place between the campaigns. The marriage was finally celebrated on November 10, at the Cathedral of the Trinity at St. Petersburg, in the presence of the Tsar's family and of several distinguished Swedish prisoners who had been brought up from Moscow for the purpose of being exchanged. By the conditions of the marriage contract, Curland was to be evacuated by the Russian troops, and not to be reoccupied nor obliged to pay military contributions. Compensation was to be given for the damages done by the Russians; the country was to remain neutral in future wars; trade with Russia was to be free; and the Duke was to receive 200,000 rubles. Unfortunately, not two months had elapsed when the Duke died at a short distance

A FINNISH SUMMER LANDSCAPE.

from St. Petersburg, while on his return to Curland with his bride. In order to prevent disturbances in Mitau, and to secure the possession of the duchy to his niece, the Tsar immediately reoccupied Curland with Russian troops.

At intervals during the year the news from Turkey had caused great anxiety. Difficulties accumulated, and at last culminated in war. To understand how this came about it is necessary to review the relations of Russia and Turkey for ten years past.[1]

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[1] Soloviéf, xvi.; Gólikof; Koskinen, *Finnische Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1874; Martens, *Causes Célèbres;* Blackstone's *Commentaries.*

LXI.

WAR WITH TURKEY.

As we remember, the declaration of war against Sweden in 1700 had been put off until the Tsar received news of the signature of peace at Constantinople. Prince Dimitri Golítsyn was sent to Turkey in 1701 with the ratification of this treaty, and with the instructions to try again where Ukráintsef had failed, in getting permission from the Sultan for Russian ships to navigate the Black Sea. He soon saw the inutility of his efforts. The Minister of Foreign Affairs declared again that the Sultan would sooner open his harem to the Russians than open the Black Sea, but that Russian merchants could transport themselves and their goods on Turkish ships as much as they pleased. Sooner than give the freedom of this sea to foreigners the Sultan would declare war. The Patriarch of Jerusalem counselled Golítsyn to desist, as he might prevent the ratification of the peace. He explained to him how much the Turks feared the Russian fleet that was building, and what projects they had for blocking the entrances to the Sea of Azof and building strong fortifications at the Straits of Kertch, insisting he would only further alarm the Turks, and that more, the result might be disastrous by land. When a strong Russian fleet was finally built the Tsar could open the Black Sea whenever he pleased, without any permission of the Sultan.

Towards the end of 1701 Peter Andreievitch Tolstói was sent as permanent ambassador to the Sultan Mustapha III., who at this time resided at Adrianople. Tolstói was instructed to send home frequent and exact information as to the foreign relations of Turkey, the internal politics, the character of the men in power or likely to obtain it, the military and naval

strength and preparations as to the strength of the Turkish fortresses on the Black Sea, and whether there was really any intention of constructing fortifications at the Straits of Kertch, and especially as to the condition and value of the trade with Persia.

Tolstói and his brother had been warm adherents of Sophia, and had been mixed up in the intrigues of the first revolt of the Streltsi. He had afterwards been induced by his relative Apráxin to espouse the side of Peter, had been made Governor of Ustiúg, and had served with distinction in the second campaign against Azof. Although fifty years old, and the father of a family, he had volunteered to go abroad to study shipbuilding, had been sent by the Tsar to Venice, and during 1697 and 1698 had cruised on the Adriatic and visited Malta. Peter prized the ability of Tolstói, and had long ago forgiven him his opposition; but it is said that on one occasion of frankness he took him by the head and said, 'Oh, head, head! you would not be on your shoulders now if you had not been so wise.'

Count Tolstói.

The arrival of Tolstói disturbed the Turks. There had never been a permanent Muscovite ambassador before. Other ambassadors were there nominally to supervise the commercial affairs of their nations, but the Russians had no commerce. There must be, they thought, some hidden purpose at the bottom of it all. As Tolstói himself reported: 'My residence is not pleasant to them, because their domestic enemies the Greeks are our co-religionists. The Turks are of opinion that, by living among them, I shall excite the Greeks to rise against the Mussulmans, and therefore the Greeks have been forbidden to have intercourse with me. The Christians have been so frightened

that none of them dare even pass by the house in which I live. The Greeks have been forbidden, too, to wear clothes like the Mussulmans, so as to distinguish them from the Turks. No-

A Janissary.

thing terrifies them so much as your fleet. The rumour has circulated that seventy great ships have been built at Archangel, and they think that when it is necessary these ships will come

round from the ocean into the Mediterranean Sea, and will sail up to Constantinople.'

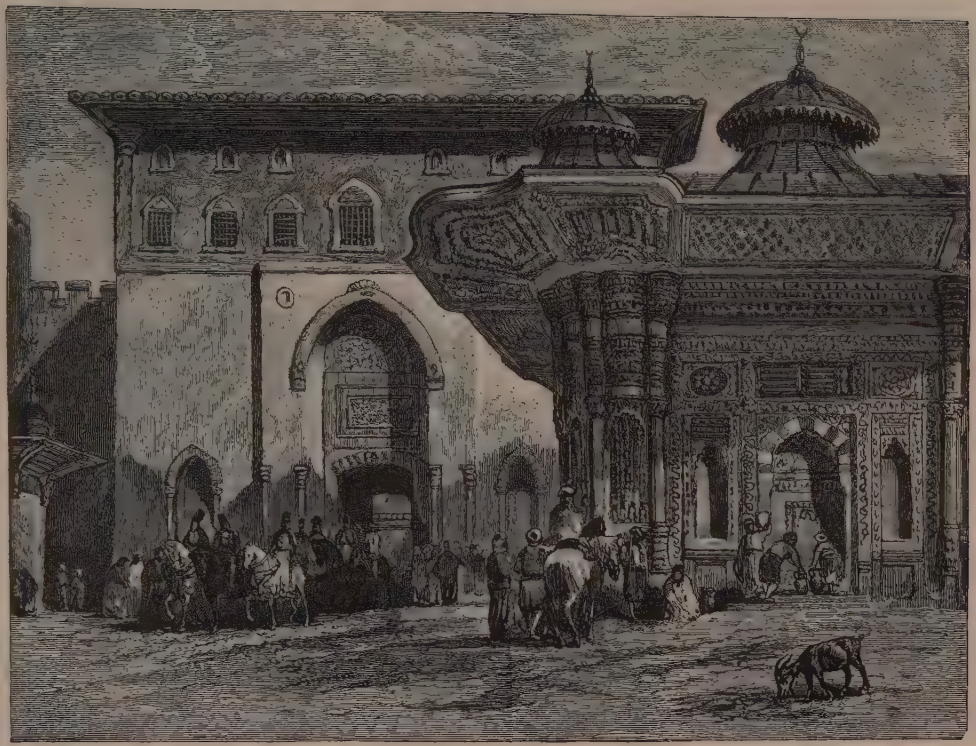
Vizier succeeded Vizier. Some were more amiable to Tolstói than others, but his position was always uncomfortable. In 1702 Hussein Köprülü resigned and gave place to the cruel, corrupt, and illiterate Daltaban Mustapha. This Vizier was bent on war with Russia, and when the Sultan refused the demands of the Crim Tartars, and even changed the Khan, the Vizier privately encouraged them and urged them to revolt, promising to go to the Crimea with an army under the pretext of putting them down, when he would join them and lead them against the Russians. Tolstói, by a liberal use of bribes, succeeded in bringing the intrigues of the Vizier to the knowledge of the Sultan's mother. Daltaban was deposed and beheaded, and Rami Mohamed, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, was appointed in his place. The new Vizier treated Tolstói with great courtesy, but two janissaries still stood at the door of his embassy, and prevented the freedom of his movements. Tolstói complained of this, because janissaries were not placed at the doors of the other embassies, and he reported at the same time the design of the Turks to conquer Georgia from fear lest the orthodox inhabitants might aid the Russians if they ever appeared on the Black Sea. The Tartars were quieted down, but other questions arose, and the Turks demanded that the little fort of Kámenny-Zaton, built in the Zaporovian country, should be razed, that no ships should be kept at Azof or Taganróg, and that commissaries should be appointed to fix the boundaries of the two empires. Tolstói agreed to the last, but decisively rejected the two other propositions.

In August, 1703, Mustapha II. was dethroned by a rebellion, and replaced by his brother Ahmed III. Internal troubles made the Turks peacefully inclined. Tolstói was treated with consideration and kindness, allowed to go where he pleased, and to receive all who chose to go to him: but he found it impossible to carry out the orders of Golovín and stir up a war between the Turks and the Austrians. This was one of the combinations of Golovín to relieve Russia of the fear of a Turkish war, and at the same time lighten the pressure in Poland. But already Ahmed III. had again changed his Grand

Vizier, and had appointed Kalaïliköz Ahmed Pasha. Tolstói complained: 'The new Vizier is very ill-disposed to me, and my wretched situation, my troubles and fears, are worse than before. Again no one dares to come to me, and I can go nowhere. It is with great trouble that I can send this letter. This is the sixth Vizier in my time, and he is the worst of all.' The sixth Vizier soon gave place to the seventh, and Tolstói wrote: 'I do not know what to do about presents. I shall not hasten to see the Vizier, because I have no presents to send him.' Presents were sent from Moscow, but without immediate effect.

The change in the treatment of Tolstói was owing to the representations of Mustapha Aga, who had been sent to Russia to announce the accession of Ahmed III. This was a coarse, ill-tempered man, who constantly found fault, made difficulties, and quarrelled over points of etiquette. No politeness could conciliate him, and he returned home with many complaints. He had been treated with courtesy, but he had indeed been detained for a long time. The letter which he brought from the Sultan complained of infractions of the Treaty of Constantinople, and demanded the destruction of Taganróg, of Kámenny-Zaton, and of the fleet at Vorónezh. The object of the Tsar was to gain time; and wishing also to impress the ambassador with a sense of his power, he had him brought to his camp—he was then besieging Narva—and then let him wait for several weeks at Nóvgorod. He again called him to Narva, after the surrender of the place, to receive his answer to the Sultan. While allowing him to see his military forces, Peter tried to conceal his naval ones. There had been question of the ambassadors arriving by the way of Azof, and Peter wrote to the Governor: 'Let him stay in Azof as short a time as possible. Get ready some fine barges and send him off at once by water, but do not take him by the land route. Do not go near Vorónezh. Be as slow on the road as possible, the longer the better. Do not allow him to see Azof or Tróïtsky on any account.'

Let us hear Tolstói's own report: 'The Turkish ambassador who was in Moscow has not yet arrived at Constantinople, but as yet has only sent a letter from the Crimea by messenger.



THE SUBLIME PORTE, OR GATE FROM WHICH THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TAKES ITS NAME.

What he has written I do not know, but they ill-treat me in a frightful way, and they shut us all up in our house, and allow no one either to go out or to come in. We have been some days almost without food, because they let no one out to buy bread, and it was with difficulty that I succeeded by great presents in getting permission for one man to go out to buy victuals. . . . I am in great fear of my attendants. As I have been living here for three years they have got acquainted with the Turks, and have learned the Turkish language. Since we are now in great discomfort I fear that they will become impatient on account of the imprisonment, and will waver in their faith, because the Mussulman faith is very attractive to thoughtless people. If any Judas declare himself he will do great harm, because my people have seen with which of the Christians I have been intimate, and who serves the Tsar, as for instance Saba, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and others; and if any one turns renegade and tells the Turks who has been working for the Tsar, not only will our friends suffer, but there will be harm to all Christians. I follow this with great attention, and do not know how God will turn it. I have had one affair like this. A young secretary, Timothy, having got acquainted with the Turks, thought of turning Mussulman. God helped me to learn about this. I called him quietly and began to talk to him, and he declared to me frankly that he wished to become a Mussulman. Then I shut him up in his bedroom till night, and at night he drank a glass of wine and quickly died.[1] Thus God kept him from such wickedness. Saba knows about this. And now, fearing all this, I would be glad to dispatch my son to Moscow, so as to send with him all those men whose apostasy I fear; but the Turks will not allow me to send him to Moscow.'

The position of Tolstói gradually became easier, and his

[1] This affair has been explained differently by some of Tolstói's colleagues, who, knowing that he had the disposition of large sums for secret service, conjectured that he had used them in part for his own profit. They say that the secretary, Timothy, privately wrote to the Tsar of his knowledge or suspicions in this matter, and that Tolstói, finding this out, had Timothy tried by a court composed of members of the embassy, and sentenced to death by poison.

reports were more reassuring. He found difficulties in sending home his despatches without entrusting them to the Greeks, in whom he had no confidence, for, as he said, 'from great to small they all lie, and it is impossible to believe them.' But his old friends, as he called them, were never to be found at a critical moment. They only appeared again when everything was smooth, and, as it was absolutely necessary for him to raise money at times by selling some of his stock of sables, the Greeks, who were willing to engage in this business, were necessary to him. He begged for his pay in money, and he begged also for permission to resign such an uncomfortable post. His services were necessary, and Peter wrote him an autograph letter asking him to remain for a while longer, which was so flattering to his self-love that it drove all ideas of resignation out of his head. Difficulties on the Kuban between Cossacks and Tartars excited again an unfriendly feeling at the Porte in the summer and autumn of 1706. At this time any hostile manifestation of Turkey was exceedingly dangerous, and the Russians again began to think whether they could not occupy Turkey by exciting her to war against Austria. Tolstói proposed to act in conjunction with the French ambassador, but he speedily found that the French ambassador was exciting the Turks not only against Austria but against Russia as well, was reporting frequent communications between the Tsar and the Eastern Christians, and was warning the Porte that the Tsar was 'waiting only for the end of the war against Sweden to cover the Black Sea with ships and to attack the Crimea with a land force. The Emperor will attack from the other side, and thus will force the Mussulmans to retreat to the interior of Asia.' The Turkish Government, however, was not so easily roused to action, and the French schemes fell to the ground, a result which Tolstói was inclined to ascribe to his own efforts, and he exulted at having spent so much less in bribery than his French colleague. It was more difficult for him to ascertain the purpose of the agents sent to Constantinople by King Stanislas, but the Polish proposals had no more effect than the French upon the Turks. Tolstói received comforting assurances from the Mufti and the Minister of Foreign Affairs in return for his presents of sables, and in reporting this he adds that 'two of

the most prudent Pashas have been strangled at the instigation of the Grand Vizier, who does not like capable people. God grant that all the rest may perish in the same way.'

The rebellion on the Don, the petition of the Cossacks to the Sultan, and the invasion of Russia by the Swedes, all made the Tsar very nervous about his relations with Turkey. Orders were given to search out any Turkish and Tartar prisoners that had not yet been freed, and give them their liberty. This measure was not approved by Tolstói, who was carefully following the course of events at Constantinople, as he thought more was to be gained by a firm and threatening attitude than by a yielding one. He had had some difficulty with the authorities about the arrest of certain Russian merchants who had been selling religious pictures, and thought that no 'prisoners should be freed in Russia till these men were set at liberty, and then only as a matter of politeness, and not as a right.'

Neither the proposition of Charles XII., nor the overtures of Mazeppa, nor the representations of the Khan of the Crimea in favour of the Zaporovians, had much effect in Constantinople. In the spring of 1709 Tolstói was able to assure his Government that for that year there was no danger of war. Indeed, while Peter was fearing for his fleet at Azof, the Turks were apprehending an expedition of those very ships from Azof. On July 21 Tolstói, who as yet knew nothing of the battle of Poltáva, wrote that the presence of the Tsar at Azof had led to the belief that he was about to begin a war, and that this rumour had created the utmost excitement at Constantinople. 'Many Turks went over into Asia, people cried out in the streets and bazaars that the Muscovite fleet had already entered the Bosphorus, and a rebellion nearly broke out against the Sultan and the Vizier, because many Turks from the shores of the Black Sea had fled to Constantinople with their wives and children. The Turkish fleet was all in the Sea of Marmora, so that they immediately began to arm merchant vessels and small galliots, and sent to the Captain Pasha ordering him to return as soon as possible with the fleet to Constantinople.'

The arrival of Charles XII. at Otchakóf threw the Turks into great perplexity. They would have been glad to be rid of him immediately, but their religion and their traditions forbade

them to deliver him up to Russia. Up to this time the King of Sweden had been in communication with the Pasha of Otchakóf only, but he now sent Neugebauer and Poniatowski to Constantinople with a letter to the Sultan asking his aid against Russia. If not an alliance, at least he demanded an escort of 50,000 men to conduct him through Poland back to his own dominions, and this looked like war. The violation of the Moldavian frontier by Brigadier Kropótof, in pursuance of a secret understanding with Racovitsa, the Hospodar of Moldavia, and the capture of Gyllenkrok and of nearly all the Swedes that remained with the King, made the Turks angry, but they had no wish to fight. At the same time they feared an attack from the Russians, either immediately or a little later, after Polish affairs had been completely arranged. To prepare themselves for this event, and to counteract any sudden movement, they began strengthening the fortresses and moved large bodies of troops towards the frontier. Charles had meanwhile established himself at Bender, where he lived in his old simple way. He had recovered from his wound, and was as light-hearted as before Poltáva. His great difficulty was lack of money. He had obtained a certain amount from Mazeppa, and on the death of the Hetman his nephew lent him an additional sum. With the allowance of 500 thalers a day from the Turks, with loans and advances from the Grand Vizier, with remittances from Holstein, and with a large sum that he borrowed from Cook and Hornby, the agents of the English Levant Company, he managed to furnish Poniatowski with money enough to assist him in his diplomatic struggle with Tolstói. The Russian had the advantage at first, for he succeeded in getting from the Turks the long-delayed ratification of the peace of 1700, and in making an arrangement with the Grand Vizier, Ali Pasha, by which the Cossacks should be delivered up, and the King should be accompanied to the frontier by a guard of 500 janissaries, where he would be received by a Russian escort, which would conduct him safely through Poland to the Swedish frontier, keeping him from all communication with the party of Stanislas. The death of Mazeppa put an end to the demand for his surrender, and Charles, indignant at finding that he was to be entrusted to Russian guards, succeeded in getting a letter into the hands of

ARREST OF THE COURIER.

the Sultan accusing Ali Pasha of treason. This had its effect. The Grand Vizier was removed, and Numan Köprülü was appointed in his place. The new Vizier furnished Charles with 400,000 thalers as a loan without interest, but even he was unwilling to break with Russia, and suggested to the King a safer route out of Turkey by the way of Austria. The action of Poniatowski now became effective. The rumours of war which he had circulated throughout Constantinople began to work, and the janissaries demanded to be led against Russia. The Grand Vizier was removed, and replaced by one of more warlike cast, Baltadji Mohammed. At the same time the Tsar became more pressing in his demands for the exact fulfilment of the new arrangement, complained that the Swedes were still allowed to remain, and that Orlik had been named Hetman of the Cossacks in place of Mazeppa. In October, 1710, he demanded a categorical reply about the expulsion of Charles, but the couriers who brought the Tsar's letter were arrested on the frontier. On December 1 war was decided upon in a solemn session of the Divan, and Tolstói with his suite was immediately imprisoned in the Seven Towers.[1] It was decided that the Grand Vizier, with a large army, should begin the campaign in the following spring.[2]

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[1] 'The late Grand Vizier was strangled, on suspicion of receiving 500,000 crowns from the Czar, whose ambassador at Constantinople, going to have audience of the Sultan, was by his order arrested and barbarously used, half stript of his clothes, set upon a sorry horse, and led through the streets, exposed to the derision of the mobs, and sent prisoner to the Seven Towers.'—Luttrell's *Brief Relation*, Jan. 23, 1710–11.

[2] Soloviéf, xv., xvi. ; Ustriálof, iii., iv.; Gólikof, iv., v.; Hammer.

LXII.

THE EASTERN CHRISTIANS.

In spite of the manner in which the illusions of Tolstói had been dispelled with regard to the action of the French, the Tsar, nevertheless, tried at Versailles to bring about a change of French policy; and his agent, Volkof, was still discussing with Torcy, when the disastrous end of the campaign on the Pruth put a stop to this discussion. Baron Urbich was obliged to interrupt his delicate negotiations for the marriage of the Tsarévitch Alexis, in order to go to Venice and endeavour to persuade the Republic to join with Russia against the Turks. His efforts were without success.

But the Tsar felt he could confidently count upon other allies—allies within Turkey itself, its discontented subjects. We have more than once mentioned the communications which were kept up between the Patriarchs and other Greeks, and Moscow. In addition to these regular communications, there were frequent volunteer diplomatists, in the shape of Greeks, Armenians, and Serbians, who having wandered through Western Europe, studying here and there, finally came to Russia, hoping, through the help of the Tsar, to realise their aspirations for freedom from the Turkish yoke, and the union of all orthodox peoples. Such was the Greek Seraphim, who had studied at Oxford, had been protected by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and had published at London a Revised Edition of the New Testament, and who had lived and intrigued in nearly every country of Europe. He talked of secret revolutionary societies among the Greeks, and to gain over the Christian Powers proposed a general division of Turkey: Egypt to go to Abyssinia, Syria and Jerusalem to Spain, Constantinople and Anatolia to France, while Macedonia and the Islands should

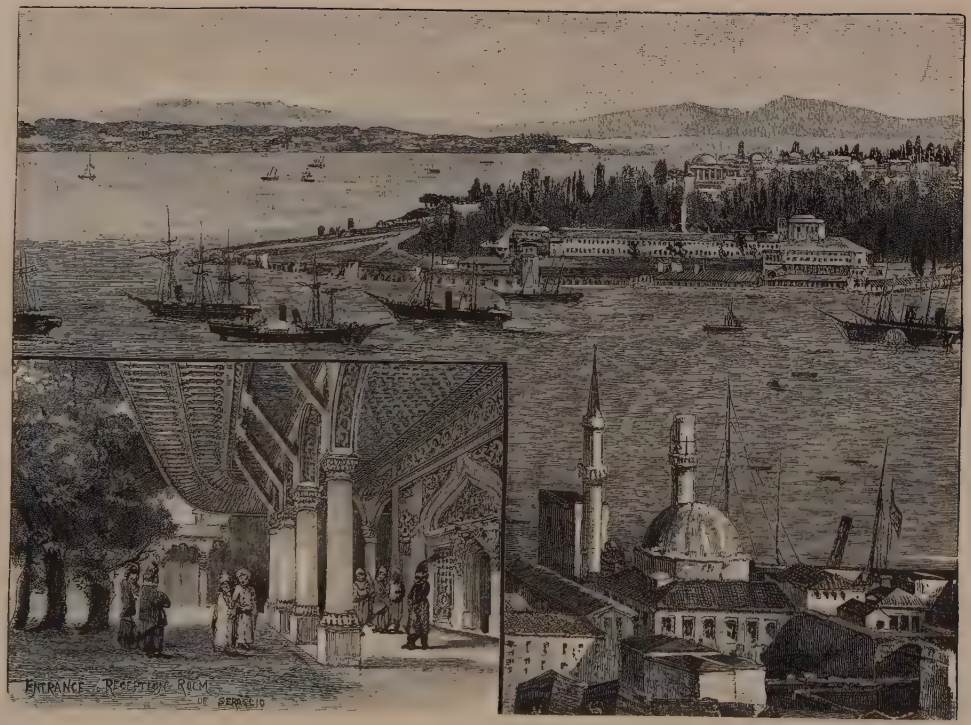
remain to Greece. Another such man was the Armenian Oriah, who professed to be in relations with the Elector of Bavaria, and who finally died at Astrakhan in 1707, on his way to Persia in the guise of a Papal Legate. He recalled to the Tsar the ancient Christian kings and princes of Armenia, gave him a map of the country, explained its condition, and begged for a delivering army of 25,000 men. He spoke, too, of the ancient prophecy which foretold the delivery of Armenia by a Prince of Muscovy who should be braver than Alexander of Macedon. Vague promises and hopes were given to Oriah when the Swedish war should be ended.

After the battle of Poltáva, Rakóczy, the Prince of Transylvania, again desired Peter's intervention, and with this view he represented at Versailles the advantage which it would be to France if, by French intervention, peace were made between the Swedes and Russians, in order that the Russians might support the Hungarians against Austria. Rakóczy believed that his representations were successful, and his agent, Vetes, hastened from Versailles, but arrived at Moscow only in February, 1711, on the eve of the war. Here he was doomed to be disappointed. He succeeded in convincing the Tsar of the sincerity of Rakóczy, but he was confronted by copies of the papers of Des Alleurs, the French ambassador at Constantinople, which clearly proved that the success of the Swedes in stirring up the Porte to war was in great part owing to French intrigues.

Colonel Bozhitch and other representatives of the oppressed Serbians—oppressed, however, rather by Austria than by Turkey—had appeared in Moscow as early as 1704. Since that time, effort after effort had been made at Vienna to bring about some improvement in their condition. But at Vienna, Catholic influence was too strong to make any concessions to the schismatic Serbians. The imprisoned despot Bránkovitch made, from his cell at Eger, a dying appeal to the Tsar, and in 1710 Bogdán Pópovitch arrived in Moscow, bringing a letter from the Serbian Colonels of Arad and Szegedin, recounting the sufferings of the Serbian people under Mussulman rule, and begged Russian protection and assistance. Even from distant Ragusa the Jesuit monk Ignatius Graditch sent an appeal in the shape of a poem.

Negotiations were begun with the inhabitants of the Black Mountain. The advantages which might be gained from the alliance of the Montenegrins—that little people which had struggled already so long and so bravely against the Turks—were pointed out to the Tsar by Savva Vladislávitch (or Raguzhínsky, as he was generally called), a simple oil trader from Ragusa, a Herzegovinian by birth, but who proved of great use to Peter, and was subsequently rewarded with the title of Count Raguzhínsky. Savva was a friend of Danílo, the Vladíka or Prince Bishop of Montenegro, and prepared the letter of the Tsar which called to arms against the Turks, not only the Montenegrins, but all the Christian peoples under Turkish rule, and sent it by Colonel Milorádovitch and Captain Lukítchevitch, two Serbians in the Russian service. The Vladíka assembled a Skupstchina, and the Russian invitation was accepted with enthusiasm, not unmixed with wonder at this intervention of the far-off Russian Tsar. Appeals were sent to the neighbouring tribes, and a campaign was at once begun against the Turks. The Montenegrins were fortunate at first, but they paid dearly afterwards for their successes.

From the two Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia there were more serious hopes of assistance, and with these more precise obligations were contracted. These two Principalities had, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, placed themselves under the protection of the Sublime Porte, which, in consideration of a tribute, agreed to respect their internal independence. They were still governed by native princes, although, in addition to other infringements of the capitulations, the Porte had arrogated to itself the right of appointing and dismissing them at pleasure. Sherban Cantacuzene, Prince of Wallachia, had been in relations with the Government of Sophia in 1687–88, but when he was poisoned by Constantine Brancovano, who succeeded him, the Wallachians were in great fear of the Austrians, and relations were broken off. Since that day Brancovano had had many mishaps. He had been in constant danger of removal by the Porte, the favours which he received had cost him double tribute, each change of Sultan had made him tremble for his throne if not for his life, and he again turned towards the Russians. Leading Wallachians were in



SERAGLIO POINT AND THE GATE OF THE SULTAN'S PALACE.

correspondence with Golófkin in 1707, but everything was still kept a profound secret.

After the battle of Poltáva he felt he could act more openly. To insure himself against misfortune, he placed a great part of his fortune in the banks of London, Venice, and Vienna, and sent much of his movable property to Kronstadt, in Transylvania. He then concluded with the Tsar a treaty, in which he bound himself, in case of war with Turkey, to declare himself on the side of Russia, to raise the Serbians and Bulgarians, to put into the field 30,000 men, and to furnish the Russian troops with provisions. The Tsar on his side recognised the independence of Wallachia under Russian protection, and bound himself to defend it against all enemies. After the conclusion of the treaty he sent Brancovano the order of St. Andrew.

While Cantacuzene and Brancovano had, in spite of the intrigues at Constantinople, succeeded in retaining their thrones for a long period, the relations of the neighbouring Principality of Moldavia were constantly changing. The ruler at this time was Michael Racovitsa. He had been Hospodar once before for about a year, but while during his first reign he had been a personal friend of Brancovano, he had now become his enemy. Hating the Porte, and fearing the intrigues of the Hospodar of Wallachia and his friends, who, as Neculce, the Moldavian chronicler of that time, says, 'like hungry wolves waited his fall,' he resolved to enter into relations with the Tsar. But these relations had not yet been arranged before he again fell. He had given notice to the Russians of the march of the Swedish division under Gyllenkrok to Czernowitz, which had resulted in their capture by Kropótof. Fearing to be attacked by the Turks and Tartars in consequence of this violation of the frontier by the Russians, he had resolved to leave Moldavia and join Peter, when, Brancovano having given information of his plans at Constantinople, the Grand Vizier ordered the Pasha of Bender to seize him. While waiting for the Russian convoy which had been promised him he was suddenly arrested in October 1709, and sent to Constantinople. He was replaced by Nicolas Mavrocordato, a Greek, the son of that dragoman of the Porte who had taken such a prominent part in the conclusion of the treaty of Carlowitz in 1698.

It was not without reason, then, that Peter in his defence of the war against Turkey spoke of the sufferings of the Greeks, Wallachians, Bulgarians, Serbians, and other Christians: '*Gemunt barbarorum jugo oppressi, Græci, Valachi, Bulgari, Servæque: quanta sit illis religio pactorum, deterrimæ sui miseriæ experiuntur.*'[1]

[1] Soloviéf, xvi.; A. Kotchubínsky, *Relations of Russia with the Southern Slavs and Roumanians in the Time of Peter the Great* (Russian), Moscow, 1872; *id.*, *We and They* (Russian), Odessa, 1878, and works therein cited; *Cronicele Românici*, Bucarest, 1872.

LXIII.

THE CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.—1711.

As soon as Peter received news of the rupture of peace by the Turks, he ordered Prince Michael Golítsyn to move towards the Moldavian frontier with ten regiments of dragoons, and watch for any movements of the Turks or Tartars. Sheremétief was sent there from Livonia with twenty-two regiments of infantry. Prince Michael Ramodanófsky advanced to Putívl with the regiments of the nobility, and Prince Dimítri Golítsyn, the Governor of Kíef, was entrusted with the supervision of the Zaporovians. On March 8, 1711, the 'war against the enemies of Christ' was solemnly proclaimed to the people in the great Cathedral of the Assumption at Moscow. The Tsar was present, and both regiments of Guards stood before the cathedral in marching order, bearing on their red banners a cross with the old motto of Constantine, 'By this sign thou shalt conquer.'

On March 17, Peter himself left Moscow for the Polish frontier, in no comfortable disposition of mind, although he was accompanied by Catherine, who had just been publicly proclaimed his wife, and who henceforth received the title of Tsaritsa. He was suffering in health, and wrote from Lutsk to Menshikóf and Apráxin in a tone almost of despair. Speaking of the Prince of Imeritia, who had died in his Swedish imprisonment, he said: 'I am deeply touched with the death of such a remarkable Prince, but it is better to leave what cannot be remedied than to recall it, especially when we have before us this uncertain road, which is known to God alone.' To Apráxin, who was charged with the defence of the Lower Don, and who inquired where he should fix his headquarters, he wrote: 'Do as is most convenient to you, for all the country is

entrusted to you. It is impossible for me to decide, as I am so far off, and, if you will, in despair, being scarcely alive from illness, and affairs change from day to day.' In Yaworow, near

CATHERINE Imperatrice & Souveraine
de Toutes les Russies &c. née le 27 Janv.
1689 couronnée à Moscou le 18 May 1724.
a commencé a regner le 28 Janv. 1725.

Catherine I.

Lemberg, where the Tsar remained during the month of May, his tone improved. He had received news that the Tartars who had attacked the Ukraine had been repulsed with heavy loss, and that the country beyond the Dniéster, which had at first given in its allegiance to Orlik, the Cossack Hetman named by Charles XII., had been reduced to submission, and he had

learned that the poor Christians were eagerly turning to him, and that the Turks were in trouble. He was pleased, too, that Catherine was received as Empress and addressed as Majesty by the Polish magnates assembled at Yaworow, many of whom gave balls in her honour. 'We here,' she wrote to Menshikóf on May 20, 'are often at banquets and soirées. Three days ago we visited the Hetman Sieniawski, and yesterday were at Prince Radziwill's, where we danced a good bit. I beg your Highness not to be troubled by believing any stupid gossip coming from here, for the Vice-Admiral keeps you in his love and kindest remembrance as before.'

While in Yaworow, Peter signed the treaty so long in negotiation for the marriage of his son Alexis to the Princess Charlotte of Wolfenbüttel. Schleinitz, the ambassador sent about this business by the Duke of Wolfenbüttel, tells some interesting details. 'The next day about four o'clock the Tsar sent for me again. I knew that I should find him in the room of the Tsaritsa, and that I should give him great pleasure if I congratulated the Tsaritsa on the publication of her marriage. After the declaration made on this subject by the King of Poland and the hereditary Prince, I did not consider it out of place, and besides I knew that the Polish minister gave the Tsaritsa the title of Majesty. When I went into the room I turned, notwithstanding the presence of the Tsar, to the Tsaritsa, and congratulated her in your name on the announcement of her marriage, and entrusted the Princess to her protection and friendship.' Catherine begged Schleinitz to thank the Duke, said how much she wished to see and embrace the Princess, and began to ask him when the Tsarévitch had arrived at Wolfenbüttel, how he amused himself, and whether he was as much in love with the Princess as people said. While Schleinitz was talking with Catherine, Peter was looking at some mathematical instruments which he had in his hands, and at various plans of sieges which lay on the table. When he heard Catherine speak of the Tsarévitch he came up to them, but did not enter into the conversation. 'I had been warned,' writes Schleinitz, 'that as the Tsar knows me very slightly, it was incumbent on me to address him first. I therefore told him that her Majesty the Tsaritsa had asked me whether the Tsarévitch

was very much in love with the Princess. Then I declared to him that I was sure that the Tsarévitch awaited with impatience the consent of his father in order to be fully happy. The Tsar replied through an interpreter literally as follows: "I do not wish to put off the happiness of my son, but at the same time I do not wish entirely to deprive myself of my own happiness. He is my only son, and I desire to have the pleasure at the end of the campaign of being personally present at his marriage. His marriage will be in Brunswick." He explained that he was not entirely his own master, for he had to do with an enemy who was strong and rapid in his movements, but he would try and arrange it to take the waters at Carlsbad in the autumn, and then go to Wolfenbüttel.' Three days afterwards the Tsar begged Schleinitz to come and see him at the house of Count Golófkin, and greeted him in German with the words, 'I have some excellent news to give you.' He then told him that a courier had just arrived from Wolfenbüttel bringing the marriage contract signed by the Duke without change, brought it out, and pointed with pride to the signature. Schleinitz congratulated him and kissed his hand, when Peter kissed him three times on the forehead and cheeks, ordered a bottle of Hungarian wine to be brought, and, filling up two small glasses, clinked them, and drank to the happy result of the marriage. Peter on this occasion was in very good spirits, kept Schleinitz two hours discussing many subjects, talking about his son, the approaching campaign, and the condition of his army. 'I cannot sufficiently express to your Highness,' wrote Schleinitz in his report to the Duke, 'with what clearness of judgment and what modesty the Tsar spoke about everything. The subject is too extensive, and I will give you verbally the substance of our conversation.'

In the little town of Yaroslav Peter had an interview with King Augustus, and concluded a treaty with him for action against the Swedish troops in Pomerania. He seemed particularly anxious to contradict the rumours spread in Poland, that he was intending to found an oriental empire to the detriment of the Republic. As the success of the Turks might give hopes to the party of Stanislas, he obtained from Augustus the promise that a force of Poles should be ready to co-operate with him.

The Tsar, however, did not expect as much assistance from the Poles as from the Moldavians. We have already spoken of the treaty with Brancovano, the Hospodar of Wallachia, and of the negotiations with Racovitsa, the Hospodar of Moldavia, which led to his deposition and replacement by Mavrocordato. The relations of Brancovano to Peter were known at Constantinople, and it was desired to remove him; but, as he was rich and had troops at his disposition, it was necessary to proceed cautiously. Mavrocordato was too weak a man for the purpose, and, on the proposition of the Tartar Khan, Demetrius Cantemir, who had been educated from childhood in Constantinople, who was known to be a personal enemy of Brancovano, and who was thought to be devoted to the Turks, was in December, 1710, made Hospodar of Moldavia, with the promise that if he succeeded in seizing Brancovano he would be rewarded with the sovereignty of Wallachia as well. Cantemir had no sooner reached Jassy than he formed other plans, and began to enter into relations with the Tsar, while at the same time continuing to profess his devotion to the Porte. He was so trusted at Constantinople that his agent was even allowed to have direct and secret communications with Tolstói, then confined in the Seven Towers, under the pretext of wishing to get possession of the Russian secrets. In this manner he transmitted the communications of Tolstói to the Tsar. Through Stephen Luka, whom he sent into Galicia, he concluded on April 24 a secret treaty with the Russians, by which he agreed to furnish 10,000 troops during the campaign. By the terms of this treaty Moldavia was to be an independent state under Russian protection. No tribute was to be paid, the sovereignty was to remain with Cantemir and his heirs, and, in order to guard against overweening Russian influence, the Russians were forbidden to hold office in the Principality, to own property there, or to marry Moldavian women. The Tsar promised to conclude no peace with Turkey by which Moldavia should be returned under Turkish rule, and agreed that in case of an unfortunate issue of the campaign Cantemir should receive refuge and property in Russia.

Meanwhile the Tsar was receiving letters from the Christians of Turkey begging him to advance as fast as possible, and be beforehand with the Turks. He wrote again and again to

Sheremétief urging him to hasten his march, because, if he could prevent the Turks from crossing the Danube, much would be gained, and the Bulgarians and Serbians would rise. He gave him strict orders that during his march through Moldavia he should pay for everything he took from the Christians, and should punish pillaging with death. Sheremétief had a supply of printed proclamations addressed to all the Christians, which he was to distribute as soon as he entered Moldavia. Even before this Peter had, through the Patriarch, called upon 'all the faithful, all metropolitans, Voievodes, Serdars, Haiduks, Captains, Palikaris, all Christians, Roumelians, Serbs, Croats, Arnauts, Bosniaks, Montenegrins, and all who love God and are friends of the Christians: You know how the Turks have trampled into the mire our faith, have seized by treachery all the Holy Places, have ravaged and destroyed many churches and monasteries, have practised much deceit, and what wretchedness they have caused, and how many widows and orphans they have seized upon and dispersed as wolves do the sheep. Now I come to your aid. If your heart wishes, do not run away from my great empire, for it is just. Let not the Turks deceive you, and do not run away from my word. Shake off fear, and fight for the faith, for the church, for which we shall shed our last drop of blood.'

Cantemir begged Sheremétief, who was then at Mohilew on the Dniéster, to send him 4,000 men. When he knew that these, under the command of Kropótof, were already on the Pruth, he called the more faithful Boyárs, Nicolas Kostin, John Sturdza, George Rosetti, and Elii Catardgi, and informed them that he had invited the Russians into Moldavia. 'The Boyárs,' says Neculce, 'were beside themselves with joy at this news, and answered: "You have done well in inviting the Russians to free us from the Turkish yoke. If we had found out that you intended to go to meet the Turks, we had firmly resolved to abandon you and surrender to the Tsar Peter." As soon as Kropótof and his troops appeared in Jassy, the Moldavians, faithful to their habits, began to rob and kill the Turks. The massacre began in Jassy, and extended throughout the principality. Silver, jewels, Asiatic clothes, horses, oxen, sheep, honey, wax, all that Turkish merchants dealt in, was unjustly

taken from them without Cantemir's knowledge. Provisions and groceries were scattered through the streets in such profusion that old women and children stuffed themselves with raisins, figs, and nuts.'

Sheremétief crossed the Dniéster, near Soroki, on the 10th of June, and on the 16th, in spite of the difficulty of the march, was on the Pruth, near Jassy. The Grand Vizier, with the Turkish troops, had arrived on the Danube at Isaktcha, but, hearing of the invasion of Moldavia by the Russians, he hesitated to cross. He had not yet heard of the treachery of Cantemir, and in order to guarantee his rear sent him word immediately to arrest Brancovano. When he learned the true state of things his rage had no bounds.

Peter's plan had been for Sheremétief to march southwards to the Danube, and Sheremétief, in yielding to the request of Cantemir and going to Jassy, had changed this. He excused himself on the ground that, owing to the heat and the want of forage, the march to the Danube on the east side of the Pruth would have been difficult, and he could not have reached there before the Turks had crossed, whereas Moldavia would have been entirely given up to the Turks. In order to keep the troops together it was necessary for the Tsar to accept this change, and follow in the footsteps of Sheremétief. After a fatiguing and exhausting march, he reached the Pruth on July 5, and, leaving his troops there, went to Jassy, where he passed a few days in conference with Cantemir and in visiting the churches and monasteries of the town and neighbourhood. The Hospodar produced a pleasant impression on Peter, and 'seemed a man very sensible and useful in council.' At Jassy Peter was met by two leading Wallachians, one George Castriota, the accredited envoy of the Hospodar, with propositions of peace from the Grand Vizier; the other, General Thomas Cantacuzene, with accusations of treachery against Brancovano, his own cousin. The propositions of peace, which had been made through the Patriarch Chrysanthes, and which even hinted at the possibility of a cession of Turkish territory, were unfortunately rejected by the Tsar, who did not feel sure of their authenticity, and who feared to encourage the enemy by a willingness to treat. The accusations of Cantacuzene were, perhaps,

too readily acted on, though there were grounds enough for believing in them. Brancovano, when his lifelong enemy Cantemir was appointed Hospodar of Moldavia, urged Peter to distrust a man who was devoted body and soul to the Turks. Peter replied, assuring him of Cantemir's devotion to the common cause, and with the aid of the old Patriarch Dositheus,

Encampment on the Pruth.

then in Jassy, effected a temporary and superficial reconciliation between them. When Brancovano found the Grand Vizier approaching rapidly with a large Turkish army, he began to waver. He distrusted the Moldavians, he feared the Turks, and was suspicious of the fidelity of his own Boyárs, some of whom, like Michael Cantacuzene, openly said that it would be a great risk to declare for Russia before the Tsar's army had passed the Danube. 'Who knows whether Wallachia will be

happier under Russian supremacy than under Turkish? Our true safety we can hope for only from the German Emperor, who, on account of the Rakóczy business, will soon declare against the Porte.' Brancovano therefore sent some Boyárs to Peter, reminding him of certain articles of their treaty, and begging him to send troops as soon as possible into Wallachia. Encouraged by the reported alarm of the Grand Vizier, and influenced by Cantemir and Cantacuzene, Peter felt strong enough to refuse Brancovano's request for troops, and to order him to carry out the stipulations of the treaty, especially those relating to furnishing provisions to the Russian army, or he would have his troops seize them without payment. Brancovano was so offended at the tone of Peter's letter, and at the credit which he seemed to give to his enemies, that he sent word that he no longer considered himself bound by the treaty, should cease all relations with him, and make terms with the Turks. As soon as the Grand Vizier entered Moldavia he went to meet him, and delivered to the Turks all the provisions which he had prepared for the Russians. The treachery of Brancovano had a great influence upon the fortunes of the campaign, for the Moldavians had prepared no stores of provisions and forage, and unfortunately that summer the whole face of the country was eaten up by grasshoppers, the plague of those regions.

The Tsar took Cantemir and Cantacuzene with him to the Pruth, where he celebrated the anniversary of Poltáva in the midst of his troops. Provisions being scarce, and a report having come that the Turks had already crossed the Danube, it was decided at a council of war to cross the Pruth, to march down the western bank of the river to Faltchi, and then through the wooded region to the Seret, where it was said that quantities of provisions collected for the Turks lay without guard. At the same time, on the suggestion of Cantacuzene, General Rönne, with 12,000 cavalry, was sent to capture Braïla and destroy the bridge over the Danube. Rönne and Cantacuzene set out on July 11, while the main army crossed the Pruth, and began its march in three divisions on the 18th, notwithstanding the report that the Tartar Khan had crossed the river some distance above. That evening General Janus, who had been instructed

to destroy a bridge a few miles down the river, sent word to the Tsar that it was too late, that the Grand Vizier was already on the western side of the Pruth, and that his army was crossing. It was necessary to concentrate, but the march was so difficult that it was easier for Janus to retreat than for the rest to advance. This he accomplished without loss during the night. The Turks had at first been frightened, and had stopped their crossing, with the thought of retreating, but the next morning they began the pursuit. The Tsar had taken up a position along a marsh on the little river Prutets, and during the whole of this Sunday he had to defend himself against repeated attacks of the Turks. The Moldavians, under Cantemir, in spite of their inexperience and their bad arms, did good service. Peter was alarmed by the non-appearance of Repnin's troops, which could get no further than Stanilesti. Another council of war was held that evening, and, in view of the lack of provisions, the absence of cavalry (for all had been sent to Braïla), and the overwhelming forces of the enemy (which were estimated at 120,000 Turks and 70,000 Tartars, while the Russians had 38,246 men only), it was decided that retreat was imperative. Neculce, the commander of the Moldavian troops, relates that the Tsar asked him to convoy Catherine and himself to the Hungarian frontier, but that he refused, on the ground that the whole of Upper Moldavia was already occupied by the Tartars, and in case of an unfortunate result he did not wish to bring down upon his head the curse of all Russia. There is nothing improbable in this. It shows to what straits the Tsar was reduced, how severe a blow he felt it would be to Russia if he were taken prisoner with his army. The loss of the army could be repaired if his energies should still have free play. Besides this, the danger, though great, was not inevitable. The cattle for food might be sent down from Jassy. Rönne and his cavalry might return, and he might hurry up the Polish auxiliaries through Czernowitz.[1] Indeed Neculce says that he intended to order Sheremétief and Cantemir to hold out in Moldavia till he could bring fresh troops. The cir-

[1] The pretended letter of Peter to the Senate urging them to pay no attention to his orders in case he were taken prisoner, but to choose the worthiest of their number as his successor, has been proved to be a forgery.

cumstances were similar to those which caused Peter's hurried departure from his troops before the first battle of Narva.

The retreat was begun during the night, but it was late the next afternoon, Monday, July 20, before all the Russian forces, after losing part of their baggage and treasure, were united at Stanilesti, where they hastily intrenched themselves. The Turks had followed them closely, greatly harassing their rear-guard, and when the Grand Vizier came up they made a ter-

Modern Tartars.

rific onset on the still unfinished camp. The janissaries were beaten back with considerable loss, and in their turn began to throw up an intrenched line, in which they placed over 300 guns around the Russian camp. The Tartars, who had long been watching the Russians, together with the Poles and Cossacks, completely guarded the other side of the river. The position of the Russians then became most perilous. They were completely surrounded, worn out by the battle and by the

heat, with a very small quantity of provisions and with no chance of aid. There was no supply of water, and the soldiers were driven back from the river by the firing of the Tartars. The earthworks were unfinished—one whole side was protected only with dead bodies and *chevaux-de-frise*. The women were shielded by baggage-waggons and slight earthworks, in the centre, but their clamour and weeping caused confusion.

On Tuesday morning, July 21, there was a sharp cannonade, with so little effect that the Moldavian Costin said: 'Great as a man is, he seems a small point to aim at in a battle.' The janissaries, who had suffered much the night before, could not be brought to attack the Russian camp, but the Russians made a sortie with great effect. After an hour's sharp fighting, in which General Weidemann was killed and Prince Volkónsky wounded, they were driven back. Finding from a prisoner of the disinclination of the Turkish troops for further fighting, and thinking that possibly reasonable terms might be obtained, Peter, urged by Catherine and opposed by Cantemir, sent a trumpeter to the Turkish camp with a letter from Sheremétief to the Grand Vizier suggesting that as the war had been brought about not by the desire either of the Turks or of the Russians, but wholly by the intrigues of other parties, it would be well to stop further bloodshed and make peace, with an allusion to the proposition made through Brancovano and the negotiations of the English and Dutch ambassadors. No answer came, and Sheremétief then sent a second letter to the same effect, but adding that he was quite prepared to recommence the attack. It had been agreed that in case of refusal a last attempt should be made to break through the Turkish lines. The answer was delayed, and the Russian troops began to advance. Immediately Tcherkess Mehemed Pasha, the *amrohor* of the Grand Vizier, came to the Russian camp saying that the Grand Vizier was not averse to a good peace, and requesting the Tsar to send somebody with power for negotiation. The Grand Vizier had heard of what the Tsar was still ignorant—the capture of Braïla.

The Vice-chancellor Shafírof, accompanied by Savva Raguzhínsky, was sent to the Turkish camp with full powers, in the evident belief that the treaty would include the settlement of

all disputes with Sweden as well as with Turkey. Peter was willing to give back all places captured from the Turks, to give up to the Swedes Livonia, and even little by little cede everything he had taken in the war except Ingria and St. Petersburg; he would instead give up Pskof, and if that were not sufficient other provinces, which it would be better not to name, but to leave to the discretion of the Sultan. He was ready to recognise Stanislas as King of Poland. In general Shafírof was ordered to make concessions to the Sultan rather than to the Swedes. He was allowed also, if necessary, to promise the Vizier and other influential persons large sums of money—150,000 rubles to the Vizier, 60,000 to his *Kehaya*, 10,000 to the *Tchaush-Bashi*, 10,000 to the *Aga* of the janissaries, &c. Such offers, which included all the conquests and the successes of Peter's reign, showed the desperation to which he was reduced. Shafírof sent back word that although the Turks were ready enough for peace, they were wasting time. To this Peter replied the next morning telling him to use his discretion, to agree to everything they asked except slavery, but by all means to give him an answer that day, so that they might begin their desperate march, or attack the Turkish trenches. The same day, July 22, Shafírof returned to the camp with the following conditions: 1. To surrender Azof in the same state in which it was taken, and to destroy Taganróg and the other newly established fortresses on the Turkish border. 2. Not to interfere in Polish affairs or trouble the Cossacks. 3. To allow the merchants of both sides to trade freely, but not to keep an envoy at Constantinople. 4. To allow the King of Sweden a free passage back to his dominions, and conclude a peace with him if an agreement can be reached. 5. No loss to be occasioned to the subjects of either country. 6. That all former hostile acts should be forgotten, and the troops of the Tsar have free passage to their country. It was demanded that Shafírof and the son of Sheremétief should remain with the Turks as hostages. Shafírof was at once sent back to the Turkish camp with orders to conclude peace immediately on these conditions. The treaty was signed and ratified on July 23, and Sheremétief informed Peter that the Russian army could retreat at once without opposition.

The Russian loss in these two terrible days had been 752 killed, 1,388 wounded, and 732 missing—a total of 2,872. The Turkish loss was stated in the official reports of the Austrian Embassy at Constantinople as 2,000 killed.

The treaty was obtained without very great difficulty, though the Vizier at first insisted on the surrender of the Russian arms, the delivery of Cantemir, the renewal of the tribute to the Tartar Khan, and a large sum for the payment of the expenses of the war. This last condition was given up on the promise of a large sum of ready money. The money, however, was never paid, for when it arrived at the Turkish camp the Grand Vizier refused to receive it, at first out of fear of the Tartar Khan, and subsequently on account of the calumnies spread by the agents of Charles XII. that he had been bribed by the Russians.[1]

[1] The legend that Catherine gave her jewels and went through the ranks of the army collecting money to bribe the Grand Vizier seems absolutely without foundation.—Soloviéf, xvi. ; Kotchubínsky ; *Cronicele Românici*, Bucarest, 1872 ; M. Kogaluiceano, *Fragments tirés des Chroniques Moldaves et Valaques*, Jassy, 1845; Theiner, *Monumenta ;* Miklosich, *Acta et diplomata Græca medii ævi*, iii. ; Papers in the Austrian Archives relating to Roumanian history, published by the Roumanian Academy at Bucarest, containing many valuable reports by eye-witnesses to the Embassies at Constantinople, and plans.

LXIV.

DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS.

Apráxin, whose disagreeable duty it was to carry out the first conditions of the peace, to raze and restore Azof and Taganróg, was the first to be informed of the treaty. 'Although I never wished,' said Peter, 'to write to you about such a matter, as I am now compelled to do, yet God has thus willed, for the sins of Christians have not allowed otherwise. On the 19th of this month we met the Turks, and from that time up to the noon of the 21st we were under very great fire, not only by day but by night, and indeed never since I have been in the service have we been in such desperation, for we neither had cavalry nor provisions. However, the Lord God so encouraged our men that although the enemy exceeded us in numbers by a hundred thousand yet they were always repulsed, so that they were compelled to throw up intrenchments and to attack our weak defences with approaches like a fortress, and afterwards when they had had enough of our treatment an armistice was made and a peace concluded, by which we agreed to give up all the towns taken from the Turks and destroy those which have been newly built. Thus finished this feast of death. The matter stands thus. Although it is not without grief that we are deprived of those places where so much labour and money have been expended, yet I hope that by this very deprivation we shall greatly strengthen ourselves on the other side, which is incomparably of greater gain to us.' A little later the Tsar informed the Senate and his intimate friends of the disaster in the same terms.

On July 25 the Russian army began its hasty march towards the Dniéster from the unfortunate camp on the Pruth. Shafírof and Sheremétief, who were left behind as hostages in the Turk-

ish camp, were to have many months of an uncomfortable life before they could assure the Turks of the entire fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty.

Poniatowski, the agent of Charles XII., had accompanied the Grand Vizier during the campaign, and had done his best to hinder the conclusion of peace. Just as the Russians were marching out of their camp, King Charles himself rode suddenly into the Turkish lines, having spurred on from Bender as soon as he heard of the critical position of the Russians. He was received with all politeness, and conducted to the tent of the Grand Vizier. But instead of taking the seat of honour prepared for him, he threw himself with his spurs and dirty boots on the sofa reserved for the Grand Vizier. Mohammed Baltadji concealed his annoyance, and began the usual compliments. The King made no reply, except that he was warm, and immediately began to attack the Grand Vizier in harsh language for acting against all military rules, as well as the command of the Sultan, in not taking the Tsar prisoner and thus compelling the whole of Russia to pay tribute, for disregarding the advice of a king in such close friendship and alliance with the Porte, and for hastening the conclusion of a treaty before consulting him. When the Grand Vizier refused to think of such a thing as withdrawing from a peace once signed, and in his anger informed the King that he was only allowed as a guest in Turkey, with a hope that he would go as soon as possible, and that his return had been stipulated in the treaty, Charles replied that he would make such representations to the Sultan that the Grand Vizier would find it very difficult to excuse his course, and thereupon, refusing the proffered cup of coffee, left the tent without further ceremony, and went to the quarters of the Tartar Khan. He passed the night there, and returned the next day to Bender.

The Swedish King was one of the greatest obstacles to the fulfilment of the conditions of peace. Shafírof pressed the Grand Vizier to send him at once out of the country, and the Grand Vizier replied: 'I wish the devil would take him, because I now see that he is king only in name, that he has no sense in him, and is like a beast. I will try to get rid of him somehow or other without dispute.' Much as he tried, his

efforts were vain. Charles refused to go, and had influence enough at Constantinople to cause the fall of the Vizier. Meanwhile the Tsar refused to surrender Azof and Taganróg until the Swedish King was sent out of Turkey, and wrote to Apráxin not to destroy the fortifications until new orders came. Shafírof had been induced to give a promise that Azof would be surrendered in two months' time; which drew on him the reprimand of the Tsar, who said that with the small number of men at his disposition it was impossible to destroy the fortifications in that time. Matters looked so threatening that Peter at last instructed Apráxin to destroy the fortifications but not to injure the foundations, and to be careful to keep exact plans and profiles, so that, if luck should turn, they could be easily restored. But Swedish and French intrigues at Constantinople, as has been said, had their effect; and in November the Grand Vizier, Baltadji Mohammed Pasha, was removed, and Yusuf Pasha, who had been Aga of the janissaries at the Pruth, was appointed his successor. As Azof and Taganróg were not given up, war was declared against Russia, and Shafírof and his companions were sent to join Tolstói in the Seven Towers. Tolstói wrote to Moscow a long story of his sufferings, and of the inutility of keeping him longer at Constantinople when the whole affair was in the hands of Shafírof. His resignation was accepted, and the Tsar gave him permission to return, but the Turks informed him that he must wait for Shafírof. Azof and Taganróg were finally surrendered in the winter of 1712, and in April a new treaty was concluded for a peace of twenty-five years. By this the Tsar was bound immediately to withdraw all his troops from Poland, although he was to have the right of returning there in case the country were invaded by the Swedes. The Russians were to offer no opposition to the return of the King of Sweden through either Russian or Polish dominions. Nothing but Kíef and the surrounding districts were to remain to Russia on the western bank of the Dniéper. No new fortresses were to be built between Azof and Tcherkásk. It cost 22,000 rubles in presents to the Grand Vizier and others to obtain this treaty, which was only granted after long efforts on the part of the English and Dutch ambassadors, who acted as mediators, for the French were doing their best to pre-

vent any arrangement between Turkey and Russia. They first put into the minds of the Turks the idea of an intimate connection between Polish and Turkish interests. It was the French who so insisted on the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Poland, and on the stipulation that there should be no further Russian intervention in that country. The stipulations with regard to Poland caused much difficulty. The French and Swedish agents were constantly reporting that the Russians, in spite of their statements, had not carried out their agreement, and that large bodies of Russian troops still remained in Poland. They pointed specially to the presence of the Russian troops in Pomerania. Shafírof explained that Pomerania was not Poland, but that, of course, it was impossible for the Russian troops, acting against Swedish towns in Pomerania, to avoid returning through Poland. The Turks replied that what happened in Pomerania was no concern of theirs, whether Russians or Swedes were victorious, but that in no case should the Russian army return through Poland.

In the autumn of 1712 a Turkish official returned from Poland and insisted that the Russian troops were still there in large numbers. Upon this the Turks demanded that the troops of the Tsar should be withdrawn from Pomerania within two or three months, even if they passed through Poland, insisting that so long as they remained there there was danger of disturbances, and the Turks could not feel at ease. This Shafírof refused, and he, together with Tolstói and Sheremétief, was again shut up in the Seven Towers. They had with them 205 men, and were in such close quarters that life was a burden to them. On December 10 the Sultan went to Adrianople, after declaring war for the third time, and issuing orders for the mustering of the troops. 'But the war,' Shafírof wrote to Golófkin, 'is disliked by the whole Turkish people, and is begun by the sole will of the Sultan, who from the very beginning was not content with the peace on the Pruth, and raged greatly against the Vizier and the rest because they did not profit as they ought by fortunate circumstances. The Sultan wished to begin war last year, but the Vizier, with the Mufti, the Aga of the janissaries, and the chief officers, almost by force compelled him to peace. He therefore has sought in

every way for a pretext for breaking this peace, and hastened to profit by the news brought by the Salohor from Poland. Although it has been proclaimed to the people that the war is justly begun, yet many doubt it, and, if it should prove unfortunate, we expect a popular rising against the Sultan.'

The Tsar had again two wars on his hands—in the north and in the south. As most of his troops were in Pomerania, it was decided this time to carry on a strictly defensive war in the south, the centre of resistance being Kíef and the Ukraine. The Sultan had gone to Adrianople with great hopes, for Poniatowski and the French ambassador had assured him that the Russians and their allies had been beaten in Pomerania, that it would be impossible for the Tsar to carry on war in so many places at once, and that he would unquestionably at once demand peace, and accept any terms. They showed what an advantage it would be for Turkey to restore Stanislas to the Polish throne, and thus have Poland for a constant ally. They even drew up the terms of peace, insisting on the destruction of the Russian settlements on the Lower Don, on the cession of the Ukraine to Turkey, on the renunciation of the Polish throne by Augustus, and on the re-establishment of peace between Sweden and Russia by the surrender of all the conquests made by the Tsar, including St. Petersburg. The Russian envoys, in their prison in the Seven Towers, began in the early part of the year 1713 to hear rumours that the Sultan was not on such good terms with the Swedish King—rumours which they could not credit, until they came more frequently and were more consistent. The Sultan and his advisers had begun to reflect. No one came from Russia to subscribe to the terms of peace which they were willing to offer, no one came even to ask for better terms. They began to think that perhaps they had been deceived by the Swedish and French ambassadors, that perhaps the Tsar was stronger than they supposed. They began to reflect on the disadvantages of an invasion of Poland and Russia, of the chances of success, and of the danger of a popular rising and of a change of Sultan, in case the war, begun against the wishes of the people, were unsuccessful. The Sultan, therefore, sent to the Pasha of Bender to persuade Charles XII. to go home through Poland as fast as possible. Persua-

sion was of no avail, threats still less, and finally came the attempt to remove the King by force, which ended in the well-known Kalabalik, when Charles, after sustaining a siege in his own house until most of his followers were dead or wounded, and making a sortie through the ranks of the janissaries, was finally knocked over, taken prisoner, and conveyed to the fortress of Demirtash, near Adrianople.

Shafírof profited by this circumstance to send word to Adrianople that the Tsar could send no new envoy, lest he might be subjected to the same treatment as the old ones, but that they were ready to enter into negotiations with the Vizier. They were accordingly invited to Adrianople, and after Yusuf Pasha had been succeeded as Grand Vizier by Suleiman Pasha, and Suleiman Pasha by Ibrahim Pasha, who insisted on war and on the invasion of Russia by the Turks, and Ibrahim Pasha, after a rule of only three months, by Damad Ali Pasha, the favourite son-in-law of the Sultan, negotiations were begun. The Turks now insisted on two new points—renewing the old tribute to the Khan of the Crimea, and drawing the boundary line between the rivers Samára and Orél, and settling on it those Cossacks who had been disloyal to Russia. These conditions the Russians rejected, but the conferences continued. At the end of June the new Grand Vizier called a council, and put the question whether war should be begun for these two points which the Russian ambassadors refused to accept. The Mufti, who had been bribed by Shafírof, replied that the war would be unlawful because the Tsar had fulfilled the conditions of the treaty. The rest agreed with the opinion of the Mufti, and their decision was at last approved by the Sultan. At the end of August, 1713, Shafírof and his colleagues were delighted on receiving an answer from Golófkin that the Tsar approved the new treaty. Bestúzhef-Rúmin arrived at Adrianople with the ratification of the Tsar on September 20, but under various pretexts the Porte refused its ratification, as well as its permission for the ambassadors to depart. Propositions were again made for payment to the Tartar Khan, but this time they were refused by the ambassadors with such firmness, even when they were again threatened with imprisonment, that the Grand Vizier obtained the ratification by the Sultan on October 18.

The ambassadors nevertheless were detained in Turkey until the final delimitation of the frontiers, and it was not until December, 1714, that they finally left Turkey. Sheremétief died on the road at Kíef.

The surrender of Azof had been accomplished nearly three years previously, in the winter of 1712. Apráxin had been able to make a good arrangement with the Pasha who took over the town. The Turks bought all the stores, guns, and powder which remained at Taganróg, and purchased the four largest ships, the only ones really worth much, for 26,167 ducats, much more than their real value.

We must give a moment's attention to the fate of the Tsar's allies. One of the first demands of the Grand Vizier at the conclusion of the treaty on the Pruth had been for the surrender of the traitor Cantemir. The Hospodar lay hid in one of the carriages of Catherine, and no one but the Hetman Neculce and two of his guards knew where he was. Shafírof therefore answered that it was impossible to surrender him, as since the first day of the battle no one had seen him or knew his whereabouts. The Grand Vizier, with a gesture of contempt, replied: 'Well, let us speak no more about it. Two great empires should not prolong a war for sake of a Giaour. He will soon enough meet with his deserts.' When the retreat began Cantemir hastened to the deserted town of Jassy for his wife and children, and on July 29 again joined the Russian troops at Zagarantcha, on the Pruth. Together with Cantemir were twenty-four Moldavian Boyárs, Stephen Duka, the Hetman Neculce, Alexander Sturdza, Abaza, and others. Peter conferred upon Cantemir the hereditary title of Prince, and gave him houses and large estates in the neighbourhood of Khárkof. His son Antiochus was ambassador in London and Paris, and made himself a name as a Russian poet. The other Moldavian refugees, including the Boyárs Stephen Duka, Neculce, Alexander Sturdza, Abaza, and others, were all well treated, and chiefly settled in the neighbourhood of Khárkof.[1] Thomas Cantacuzene, who with General Rönne and his cavalry had made his way through the

[1] Several of these Boyárs or their families returned afterwards to Moldavia; others made themselves a mark in Russian history. Abaza was the ancestor of the late Russian Minister of Finance.

whole length of Moldavia to the Polish frontier, received the title of Count, and became a general in the Russian service.

For five days after the conclusion of peace the Grand Vizier waited for the Moldavian Boyárs to present themselves to him with offers of submission. But no one came. Most of those who had not fled to Russia had concealed themselves with their families in the mountains and forests. Angry at this want of respect, the Grand Vizier ordered the Tartars to pillage the principality. The whole of Lower Moldavia was given over to fire and sword. Old men related that the devastation was even greater than that of 1650, in the time of Prince Basil the Albanian. After the retreat of General Rönne from Braïla, Galatz was attacked by the Turks and Tartars, and completely sacked. Many inhabitants who had taken refuge in the monastery of St. George were made prisoners; the rest, fearing the same fate, left the churches and monasteries where they were, and fled to Reni across the Danube. New bands of Turks completed the work. 'Of all the monasteries and churches there remained but the bare walls. The pictures, the holy ornaments, the sacred vessels, wherever they were hidden, were discovered and carried off. The Turks dug up the ground wherever they thought they could find something. They did not even respect the dead. Berlad suffered still more, and was left a heap of ruins. The inhabitants, however, had the good fortune to escape slavery, having taken flight in time to the forests.' At the first news of the Russian retreat nearly all the inhabitants of Jassy had abandoned the town, and had taken refuge in the strongest monasteries. As there was no government, a Polish renegade had established himself in the princely palace, and seized whatever he could lay his hands upon. He was soon driven out by Kurt Mohammed Pasha, who had accompanied the Russians as far as the frontier, and who organised a government of Turks, and carried out the same brigandage with more system. He reported his proceedings to the Grand Vizier, offering to submit in every respect to his orders; but as he had committed the folly of giving titles of nobility and bestowing the high offices of State on his adherents, his proceedings were not approved. After two weeks' waiting, the Grand Vizier sent for the Boyár Constantine Lupu, who had played a double part

during the campaign, and who had been in correspondence with the Turks while still trusted by Cantemir. Lupu, who left his refuge in the monastery of Barsuci, full of terror for his life, fell on his knees before the Grand Vizier and awaited his sentence. The Grand Vizier taunted him with the treason of Moldavia, and finally proposed to appoint him Hospodar. Lupu refused, on the ground that the country was so entirely devastated and ruined that it would be impossible to fulfil his obligations to the Porte. The Vizier then, clothing him with the robe of honour, appointed him Kaimakam, or temporary governor, and saying, 'I confide the administration of the country to you, and hold you responsible for it,' repeated three times, 'Lupu, keep your eyes well open.' After ransoming more than 2,000 Moldavian captives, Lupu arrived in Jassy on the 10th of August. His task was difficult, and his reign was not long. It was impossible for him to raise enough money in the country to supply the wants of the Vizier. He was accused of extortion for his personal ends, and a month later was deposed, sent to Varna, and imprisoned. Shortly after this the late Hospodar, Nicholas Mavrocordato, was again appointed ruler of the country. With him began the reign of those Phanariote princes to whose rapacity Moldavia was the prey.

Brancovano now showed the utmost hostility to the Russians, but he was unable to wipe out the remembrance of his past treachery. The Porte had resolved on his fall, and his relations the Cantacuzenes, both in Constantinople and in Wallachia, lost no opportunity of prejudicing the Grand Vizier against him. Even Thomas Cantacuzene did what he could from Russia. But the blow did not come for some time. Although the Hospodar knew the plots against him, he seemed to have confidence in the security of Bucarest. He sent some of his property abroad, but could not bring himself to abandon his Principality. At last, in Passion week, 1714, the order of deposition was read to him, he was arrested and sent with his family to Constantinople, and together with his two sons beheaded on his sixtieth birthday, when he had expected to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of his reign. Stephen Cantacuzene, who succeeded him, did not remain long upon the throne. In January, 1716, he was deposed, and was subsequently beheaded

in his dungeon at Constantinople. Nicholas Mavrocordato was transferred from Moldavia to Wallachia, and the native princes gave place to the Phanariotes.

The Tsar wrote to the Montenegrins informing them of the disastrous result of his campaign on the Pruth, and begged them to abstain from further hostilities. Grief reigned in the Black Mountain, for their warriors had been successful. Nevertheless they obeyed the Tsar's injunctions, though knowing what vengeance the Turks would try to take on them. Indeed the next year a strong Turkish army attacked them in their fastnesses, but was repulsed. Two years afterwards, in 1714, a still stronger army appeared and ravaged the country from one end to the other. The Montenegrins sought help from Russia, and the Prince-Bishop Danilo went there in person. He was kindly received, and returned with a message from the Tsar, with vestments and plate for the churches and monasteries, and rich gifts of money. Although it was long before the Montenegrins were again in direct relations with Russia, the name of Peter—'The mustachioed Tsar'—was always held in veneration, and became famous in legend.[1]

[1] Soloviéf, xvi., xvii.; Kotchubínsky; Kogalniceano, *Cronicele Românici.*

LXV.

THE TSAR RETURNS TO ST. PETERSBURG.—1711-1712.

Our desire to narrate the sequence of the negotiations which led to the final peace between Turkey and Russia, and the difficulties with which they were accompanied, has carried us far. We must now return to the Tsar, whom we left on the march from the Pruth to the Dniéster. Passing by Kamenétz-Podólsk, where he examined the fortifications, Peter arrived at Yaroslav on August 26, and immediately ordered boats, intending to pursue his journey to Warsaw by water in the company of Prince Rakóczy, whose affairs were more embroiled than ever. At Yaroslav he was met also by Baluze, the French envoy, who had presented his credentials at Jaworow in the spring, and had been waiting in Poland for his return. Baluze found the Tsar at eight o'clock in the morning, writing, and very busy with his preparations for departure. Peter uncovered and listened to the compliments made him in Polish on his happy return, but gave no reply; and, turning away, went to the other boat and continued his occupation. The envoy had met the Tsar several times in the spring, and on one occasion had been received by him in his garden, where he was making a boat for the wife of the Castellan of Cracow. He had been then much pleased by the Tsar's easy manners, but now he found a coolness and an awkwardness, which he laid rather to the fact that the Tsar was then about to undertake a journey in Germany, for the purpose of marrying his son, and felt under a certain restraint towards France, than to the disappointment of the campaign. Indeed, it had been very difficult to procure accurate information about what had happened, and rumours of all kinds were current. Several persons produced copies of the treaty of peace, which they claimed to have received from the Tsar's

chancery, but as no one resembled another, people doubted their genuineness. Compliments at this time were less than ever agreeable to Peter; and when the wife of the Castellan of Cracow continued to congratulate him upon his return in perfect health, he replied that his good fortune consisted in having received only fifty blows when he was condemned to receive a hundred. At Yaroslav he gave a lesson to the Prussian Resident, who sat next to him at table, saying: 'You act always philosophically in affairs, while we act quite mechanically;' wishing, Baluze thinks, to say that the Court of Berlin treated matters with a *finesse* which did not suit him.

After two days spent at Warsaw in hard work, and two nights in carousing, Peter arrived at Thorn on September 9. Here he left Catherine, and went by way of Posen and Dresden to Carlsbad, hoping, by the use of those waters, to gain relief from his maladies, which had been aggravated by the heat of the south and the fatigues of the campaign. Count Vitzthum was sent by King Augustus to meet the Tsar, and finding him just leaving Thorn, followed in a light carriage, and caught up with him eight miles from Posen. In spite of a violent colic, Peter started early the next morning, but had to come back, remain quiet for a couple of days, and take medicine. Preceding the Tsar, in order to make the necessary arrangements, Vitzthum met him again at Dresden. Peter wished no ceremonies, and therefore refused to accept rooms at the Palace, and lodged in the inn *Zum Goldnen Ring*, on the Altmarkt (now the *Hôtel de l'Europe*). The next morning he visited the glass works, and then went to Ostrewiese, where he found some stags. Contrary to his custom, Peter felt inclined for sport; he killed one stag of twelve branches, and shot another animal which got away, but which the huntsman killed and brought home to him, much to his pleasure. After dinner he went to the *Kunstkammer*, where he examined everything in great detail, especially the case containing turned objects, remaining more than two hours. Later on he visited the Arsenal and the Great Garden, where he was delighted with the revolving swing, which, at his request, and to his loud laughter, was put into such rapid movement that some of his companions fell out. He then went to the *Ringrennen*,

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looked for half an hour at the lions, and asked for drawings of the menagerie in order to build a similar one at St. Petersburg. In the evening he supped at Vitzthum's, where there was a ball. The next day, after making some early visits to the shops of turners and clockmakers, the Tsar went to Freiberg, where he descended into the mines, and, to his great satisfaction, two thousand miners came out to meet him with a band. He arrived at Carlsbad on the evening of September 24, and began his cure the next day but one.[1]

Vitzthum's chief object was to extract information from the Tsar for the benefit of his master; but he desired also to come to some understanding with regard to Polish affairs. Concerning the peace with Turkey, the Tsar told him that he had taken no obligation contrary to Polish interests, and explained the article about interference in Poland by saying that if the Swedes kept out he would; but if they invaded the country he intended to drive them out. He did not consider Azof to be a loss, because he had been obliged to spend so much money every year upon it; but at the same time he had no intention of evacuating it until Charles XII. had left Turkey. With regard to France, and the possibility of a French alliance, Peter said that he felt under no obligations to France, and that he saw the advantages of keeping on good terms with the allies.

Divided as the Poles were internally—for there were still many partisans of Stanislas—they were yet agreed about one thing: dislike of Russian interference and of the Russian occupation of the country. The Russian troops, and more especially, it is said, the foreign officers, many of whom had taken service only for the purpose of making their fortunes, pillaged and plundered right and left. Prince Gregory Dolgorúky, the Russian ambassador at Warsaw, wrote: 'Not only others, but even our well-wishers, show me very wry faces. They say publicly that, in spite of the treaty of alliance, we do whatever we wish in Poland, and utterly ruin them, being worse than the

[1] A curious incident connected with Peter's departure from Dresden is reported by Court Marshal Pflug to the Saxon Government. He says that the Tsar took from the inn several sheets and bed-coverings, and was about packing into his boxes, with his own hands, some green silk hangings, but was prevented by the protests of one of the servants.

enemy. Even from the King, except compliments, I see no help in our affairs. I hear from others that he is not contented with us. He has several times begged me to write to the commanders of our troops to stop the pillaging. Even foreign ministers have asked me, with astonishment, why we ruined the allied Poles without the slightest mercy.'

In the early part of the year the Marshal of Lithuania had gone on a special mission to Moscow, to ask for the withdrawal of the Russian troops, as well as for the cession of Livonia, Elbing, and various towns in the Ukraine and on the Dniéper. The only answer that could be given then was that, with a Turkish war on hand, it was impossible to give up these places to Poland; for there were not Polish troops enough to garrison them properly, and they would thus be protected neither against the Turks nor the Swedes. The Tsar was willing, if pressed, to allow a few Polish troops to garrison Riga conjointly with his own, but he insisted on receiving the revenues until the end of the war, and refused to allow the Catholic religion, as being contrary to the conditions on which Riga had surrendered. Indeed, there was some little difficulty on the part of Augustus, for he was to receive Livonia, if at all, as part of his hereditary possessions; and if he occupied it with Saxon troops the Poles might suspect this arrangement, and oppose him; whereas if the troops of the Republic were allowed to enter, he might have difficulty in turning them out.

The result of the campaign on the Pruth had been to excite Swedish hopes; and Peter was anxious to pursue as rapidly as possible the campaign in Pomerania. Knowing that his success depended in great part on a cordial understanding with Poland, he desired to retain the friendship of the King; and, immediately after the signature of the treaty, wrote to Dolgorúky, telling him to impress upon the King that this peace would be of great profit to the allies, as he would now be free with his whole army, and could send a great part of it into Pomerania. He had resolved to withdraw his troops from Poland, in case of necessity, but he was unwilling to admit any interpretation of the treaty which would prevent him from sending his troops through Poland into Pomerania.

During Peter's stay in Carlsbad—which place, as we learn

from his letters to his wife,[1] he found as dull and tiresome as visitors do nowadays—neither his mind nor his pen were idle; but he was especially occupied with the preparations for the approaching marriage of his son Alexis. He had already written from his camp on the Dniéster to Prince Anton Ulrich, asking him to select some town in Prussia, and celebrate the marriage quietly there, in case he were prevented from going to Germany. Now, however, that he was at Carlsbad, and desired to come back to Dresden and see the King, he had some thought of having the ceremony take place there. Vitzthum dissuaded him, on the ground that it would be necessary to invite all the princes of the Hanover and Wolfenbüttel families, and that there was no time for arrangements. Peter thought this would be unnecessary at a private marriage, and, rather than accept the proposition of the Prince to go to Wolfenbüttel, proposed Torgau, the residence of the Queen of Poland, under whose care the Princess Charlotte had been educated. Vitzthum again intervened, and suggested Carlsbad, where the marriage could be perfectly private, and advised the Tsar not to invite the Kings of Hanover and Prussia, but to excuse himself afterwards. Torgau was at last decided upon; and going down the Elbe to Dresden, Peter remained there a week, and was met on October 24, at Torgau, by his son and the family of the bride.[2] The marriage took place the next day, Sunday, in the great hall of the royal château, the windows of which were darkened and covered with mirrors to increase the brilliancy of the scene, for the room was plentifully lighted with candles.

[1] See vol. i., p. 441.

[2] During this visit to Dresden the Tsar again lodged at the 'Golden Ring,' where his favourite resort seemed to be the room of the porter, in which he even breakfasted. He visited the tennis-court and took part in the game, inspected the powder-mill, and twice went to the paper-factory, where he made several sheets of paper with his own hands, besides going to churches, and seeing again the different collections. He was especially pleased with the collection of minerals belonging to Count Lesgewang. He visited also the Court jeweler Dinglinger, and especially the Court mathematician and mechanician Andrew Gärtner, at that time well known for his inventions, where he remained three hours, particularly inspecting the newly-invented machine, in the nature of a lift, by which it was possible to go from one story of a house to another. He bought a wooden burning-glass, and presented Gärtner with some sables, begging him to make himself a warm pelisse for winter.

The service was performed in Russian, except that the questions were asked of the bride in Latin. After a supper in the Queen's apartment and a ball, 'His Great Tsarish Majesty'—according to a newspaper of the time, *The European Fame*—'gave his fatherly blessing in a most touching manner to the newly-married pair, and himself conducted them to their bedchamber.' Before retiring he found time to write to Menshikóf: 'I will answer your letter hereafter. Now I have no time on account of the marriage of my son, which was celebrated today, thank God, in good wise, and very many notable people were there. The marriage was in the house of the Polish Queen, and the watermelon sent by you was put upon the table, which vegetable is a mighty wonder here.' Four days after the wedding the unlucky Alexis was ordered by his active father to proceed to Thorn and supervise the provisioning of the troops; and it was only after much persuasion that he was allowed a short furlough to visit his wife's family at Wolfenbüttel.

While at Torgau the Tsar received the visit of Leibnitz. This learned man had long desired to gain the ear of Peter, in order to press his plans for organising institutions of learning and scientific research in Russia. Besides this, he had plans for persuading Russia to join the alliance against France, as well as desires of his own to enter the Russian service. His position at Hanover did not entirely suit him, and he thought that it would be possible for him to become President of the new Russian Academy which he looked forward to founding, receive a salary from the Tsar, and at the same time be able to be the Librarian of Prince Anton Ulrich, his friend and correspondent at Wolfenbüttel. He had hitherto been in communication on this subject with Urbich, but he now turned to Prince Anton Ulrich, thinking that the new marriage connection would give him influence with Peter. Leibnitz succeeded in impressing the Tsar with his plan so far as to obtain a promise of a pension of 500 rubles, and that magnetic observations should be made throughout Russia and Siberia.

The marriage of the Tsarévitch caused similar hopes to be entertained by the Berlin Academy, and the question of extending the influence of the Academy in Russia was discussed at length at a meeting on November 19. The aims of the Acad-

emy, however, were not entirely scientific. It was desired not only to get possession of the book trade and printing in Russia, but also to introduce the Lutheran religion. When the matter was referred to Leibnitz, as the President of the Academy, he strongly objected to anything in the nature of religious propaganda, as the Russians were violently opposed to this, and he placed what obstacles he could in the way of his colleagues, fearing lest they might interfere with his own plans. In spite of the Tsar's promises, nothing for some time was done, and the next year we find Leibnitz again urging his case.

From Torgau Peter went first to Crossen, where he had an interview with the Hereditary Prince of Prussia and two of the Danish Ministers, in order to endeavour to arrange the conduct of the campaign in Pomerania, then to Thorn, where Catherine joined him, and finally, for a few days, to Elbing and to Königsberg. Affairs detained him for some days in Riga, Pernau, and Reval, so that he did not arrive at St. Petersburg until January 9, 1712.

It was now nearly a year since he had seen his new capital, and in that interval what great events had taken place, how much he had suffered, and how the sequence of events had involved him in the politics of Europe! These events it will shortly be necessary to explain, but it may be remarked here that one of their results was to keep Peter very much away from his 'Paradise,' and, indeed, from Russia. From June, 1712, to April, 1713, he was in Pomerania and on the coasts of the Baltic with his army. A month later he set out with his fleet for Finland, spent the summer in the campaign there, and did not return until October. The whole summer of 1714 was spent in a naval campaign on the coasts of Finland. Most of the summer of 1715 was passed at sea, cruising off the coasts of Finland and of Esthonia. In February, 1716, Peter went again to the German waters for his health, and did not return to St. Petersburg until the end of October, 1717.

Once more at home, Peter threw himself into work with all his feverish activity. He had already, from Pernau, ordered the Senate to go to St. Petersburg, and now began to work regularly with it on questions relating to internal organisation. The periods of his stay in St. Petersburg in these years may

readily be seen from the *ukases* preserved in the archives. In this year of 1712, for example, from the Tsar's arrival until the day he went away, 165 decrees are on record; during the rest of the year there are but twenty-seven. None of these, however, are of sufficient importance to detain us now. On the Russian New Year Day Peter was much cheered up by receiving the news of a small victory near Wismar, where the Danish and Russian troops cut off a force of Swedes. He was disturbed in mind, however, by the course which the negotiations with the Porte were taking. During the winter he at last decided to surrender Azof and Taganróg to the Turks, and a new treaty was in consequence concluded in April.

The presence of Catherine on the Pruth, and her share in the fatigues of the campaign, had endeared her to Peter more than ever. He therefore, partly in order to please her, and partly to render her position perfectly intelligible to all his subjects, had a solemn public ceremony performed in the new church of St. Isaac on March 2, amounting almost to a new marriage, and in the evening gave a large banquet, at which all the Court and the Foreign Ministers were present.

After visiting Viborg in the spring, after laying the foundations of the Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul in the citadel, and after receiving at nearly the same time information of the new treaty with Turkey and disquieting news from the seat of war, Peter set out for Pomerania on June 26, in order to see what his personal presence might effect.[1]

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[1] Gólikof; Diplomatic Despatches in the French Archives, *Collections of Russian Imperial Historical Society*, vol. xxxiv., St. Petersburg, 1881; Diplomatic Despatches in the Dresden Archives, *id.*, vol. xx., 1877; Soloviéf, xvi.; Guerrier, *Leibnitz and Peter the Great;* Archives of the Senate; *Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte*, vol. xi., Leipzig, 1873.

LXVI.

THE POMERANIAN CAMPAIGNS.—1711-1713.

The history of Europe at this time is somewhat difficult to follow in detail. Webs of intrigue cross each other at every point. The war of the Spanish Succession in the West of Europe, the war against Sweden in the North, the intrigues of Charles XII., of France and of Austria at Constantinople, the intrigues in England to bring back the Pretender and to degrade Marlborough, the intrigues of Augustus II. to become King of Hungary, if not Emperor of Germany, even at the cost of resigning again the Polish crown, and all the time King Frederick of Prussia worrying himself over the disputed succession of Orange and the question of Guelderland, and constantly pursuing his 'great design'—the partition of Poland, and the enlargement of his boundaries in any direction or at anybody's cost other than his own. The main facts can be got at readily enough, but what the exact causes of them were, or what influences helped to bring them about, it is not so easy to ascertain with exactitude. Indeed, it sometimes seems as if no one but the Tsar had a clear idea of what he really wished, and took straightforward measures for accomplishing his ends.

The turn which the war between Russia and Sweden now took, and which ultimately led to the continual interference of Russia in European affairs, came from the possessions which Sweden still held on the south of the Baltic. By the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus, consecrated by the peace of Westphalia, Sweden was in possession of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, and of a good part of Pomerania, including the towns of Stralsund, Stettin, and Wismar, and the island of Rügen, and by virtue of these possessions was a member of the German empire. After the defeat of Charles XII. at Poltáva, it was

plainly seen by the smaller German states, as well as by England and Holland, that these possessions of Sweden might cause the invasion of Germany by the Tsar, and that this would be on the one hand uncomfortable and disastrous to the countries near the theatre of war, and on the other disagreeable to the maritime powers as creating a diversion which might be favourable in the end to France. The idea was originated by Prussia of neutralising the Swedish possessions in Germany. This was eagerly accepted by England and Holland, and, after the Government at Stockholm had been sounded, a treaty of neutrality was signed at the Hague, March 31, 1710, between England, Holland, and Austria, in which the other powers were asked to join. It was in substance that none of the powers at war should attack the possessions of the others situated in Germany, or lying next to them on the mainland, so that King Augustus would be protected in Saxony, Sweden in Pomerania and Bremen, and Denmark in Holstein, Slesvig, and Jutland. The Swedish troops in Pomerania, and the Danish troops in Slesvig, Holstein, and Jutland, were not to be withdrawn unless an arrangement was made by which they entered the service of England and Holland against France.[1] All parties saw the advantage of this and readily accepted it. Even the Council at Stockholm, though feeling that Sweden had less profit from it than the others, thought that it might induce the King sooner to make peace. In this, however, they miscalculated, for as soon as Charles heard of it in Bender, he sent a formal protest declaring that he would never accept such a treaty, and should keep to himself the right to attack his enemies when and where he pleased. He at the same time forbade General Krassau to obey any orders sent to him by the Council at Stockholm. As soon as this protest was known, England, Holland, Austria, and several German states entered into another treaty (August 4, 1710), for the purpose of imposing neutrality by force. It was resolved to form an army of about 16,000 men, and dispose it in North Germany in such a way as to attack whichever power first crossed the boundaries of the other. Against this agree-

[1] It is worthy of mention that this attempt to defend the integrity of the Empire was concluded without the knowledge or participation of the Imperial authorities as such, though it was afterwards accepted by the Diet.

ENLISTMENT UNDER CHARLES XII.

ment also Charles XII. did not fail to send his protest, which reached the Hague in the early part of December, in which he said that under the guise of neutrality, an army had been raised for the advantage of his enemies. At this juncture the Porte declared war against Russia, and by Charles's directions the most active preparations for war were made throughout Sweden and the Swedish possessions. But before anything could be accomplished, came the news that the Tsar had extricated himself from his difficulties on the Pruth. The troops of the Russians and their allies were already assembled for the march upon Pomerania.

There was no help for it. There was really nothing else to be done. The Tsar had obtained all he wanted—he held possession of St. Petersburg, all the Swedish territories south of the Finnish Gulf, and enough of Finland proper to protect his new capital. He sincerely desired peace. Sweden, exhausted by war, suffering from pest, famine and poverty, wished peace also, but was still mistakenly loyal to an obstinate, self-willed, and apparently half-crazed king, who had for years exiled himself from his realm, and who forbade peace. Nothing remained but to conquer a peace, and the best way to do this was to deprive Sweden of all her provinces south of the Baltic, and thus prevent her from attacking Russia and Poland in the rear. The Tsar at first proposed that the German 'neutrality corps' should join with them. When this was refused he issued a manifesto that the question was of the security of Germany against the Swedish force which threatened it from Pomerania, adding the covert threat that if the empire delayed collecting its neutrality corps, and keeping in the Swedes, the three northern powers would be obliged to look out for their own interests only. This was the first time that Russia had 'stretched out a protecting hand over Germany,' and the experience of Poland caused considerable alarm to be felt in Prussia, whose troops were all fighting in Italy and the Netherlands to gain the Spanish crown for the House of Austria, and who could do nothing to protect its frontiers. King Frederick was in Holland when permission was asked for the troops to pass through Prussia, and the Crown Prince immediately made a protest. This protest was received by Count Flemming simply as a formal protest usual in such

cases, and no other attention was paid to it, except that a friendly assurance was given that the allied troops would do the least harm possible, and that all things taken would be paid for; and in the middle of August, 1711, 12,000 Russians, 6,000 Polish, and 6,000 Saxon troops passed within a few miles of Berlin in the direction of Strelitz, where they expected to meet the Danes and attack Stralsund and Wismar.

Here we must digress.

Reference has several times been made to the 'great design' of King Frederick of Prussia for the partition of Poland, or at all events for obtaining a Polish province or two, which would round out his frontier. Repulsed by the Tsar he had turned to King Augustus, with whom in 1710 he had an interview at Leipzig. But Augustus had replied, with all politeness, that, at least in present circumstances, this was not to be thought of. Disquieted by the capture of Elbing, by the transfer of so many artisans from that town to St. Petersburg, and by the 'perpetual armament' which filled Poland with such enthusiasm, Frederick sent Marschall to Augustus at Warsaw, to explain to him that the partition was the only way by which he could keep the hereditary possession of the Polish crown. Augustus and his counsellors, who were viewing the progress of the Tsar with disquietude, though they were obliged to have the air of consenting, replied that they could not discuss the matter now, but must wait for the proposals of the Tsar, and advised Prussia to start the matter by sketching out a plan of partition. This was done at once, as if Russia had already agreed. The project began: 'His Tsarish Majesty finds it good and necessary to give Poland new boundaries, and to divide this kingdom into three parts—one for his Tsarish Majesty, another for the King of Prussia, and the third for the King of Poland; each will possess his portion in full sovereignty.' With many details and explanations it was stated that 'for the quiet and the true interests of the Polish nation, whose government had hitherto been so ruinous both to itself and to its neighbours,' it was necessary to give this kingdom another form. Besides Swedish Livonia, a large slice of Lithuania was to come to Russia; Polish Prussia, Samogitia, and the succession to Curland, were to be given to Prussia; and the remainder to the King of Poland, with the title of

Hereditary King. The Dutch were to be appeased by commercial advantages and a barrier against France, the Emperor by admitting his rights to the county of Zips, and the House of Austria by complete acknowledgment of the Spanish Succession. When Count Kaiserlingk talked about the 'great design' to the Russian Ministers in Moscow, they repeated the answer that the Tsar had given at Marienwerder, and Von der Lieth talked in the same way at Berlin. There was no way of accomplishing anything but by throwing a Prussian army across the Vistula, and the King had serious thoughts of bringing back his troops from Italy. But Prince Eugene then came through Berlin on his way from the Netherlands, and succeeded in obtaining the presence of the troops in Italy for a year longer. Nevertheless, the Prussian King still insisted on his plan, and Marschall was sent to Russia to help out Kaiserlingk. Meanwhile the Swedes had been driven from Reval, Riga, and part of Finland, and Von der Lieth was ordered to state to the Prussian Court that if Marschall had no further commission than this project his journey was unnecessary, as the Tsar had once for all resolved to undertake nothing which might give umbrage to his allies. The Tsar said as well to Kaiserlingk: 'If the partition should ever be made it must be in quite another form, and the first condition would be that Prussia should enter into the offensive alliance against Sweden and come to a real rupture in Pomerania.' When Marschall arrived he had already new instructions, and asked only for Elbing and a bit of country between Pomerania and the Vistula. The Tsar, however, refused to evacuate Elbing as long as the war lasted, and said that he could not cede what belonged to the Republic of Poland. He reminded the King of Prussia that he was bound by the treaty of Marienwerder to prevent the Swedes from leaving Pomerania. Nothing further could be done unless Prussia took the offensive against Sweden. The Prussians explained that they had no troops, made new proposals, and, finally, agreed that they would break with Sweden in case the Swedes tried to march.[1] The Prussians thought it hard that the Tsar should promise them a reward only in case of alliance, giving them

[1] *Droysen*, Friedrich I., especially the supplement.

nothing in advance. 'Entice us on with Elbing,' they said to Golófkin, 'like a dog with a piece of meat.' Subsequently, when the Tsar was at Greifswald, in August, 1712, General Von Hakeborn came with new propositions, and a convention was actually signed (September 24, 1712), by which the Tsar agreed to cede Stettin, after capturing it, if the King prevented the Swedes from entering Saxony or Poland. Again ratification was refused as in previous cases, as the King wanted everything gratis. No conclusion, therefore, was reached, and the new declaration of war by Turkey then put a different face upon matters.

To return to Pomerania. Stralsund was blockaded during the summer of 1711 by Russian, Saxon, and Danish troops, but the divisions between the commanders were so great that nothing was accomplished. Flemming wished first to capture the island of Rügen, to destroy the enemy's cavalry, and obtain provisions from the island for the use of the troops conducting the siege. The Danes wished to leave the King of Poland before Stralsund, and to attack Wismar. Prince Basil and Prince Gregory Dolgorúky long tried in vain to bring harmony into the councils of the generals, and at last thought that great advantage would result if the Tsar should have a personal interview with the King of Denmark, 'who is a proud man and will not be likely to change what you once arrange with him.' But Count Flemming, for some reason, feared such an interview, and having won over two of the Danish Ministers, went with them to meet the Tsar at Crossen, in October, 1711.[1] Peter decided for attacking Stralsund first, and for beginning the campaign in the spring as early as possible, after having come during the winter to some arrangement with the Elector of Hanover with regard to Bremen and Verden. The allies remained two months longer around Stralsund, and excused their inaction on the ground that they had not brought their artillery, and therefore could do nothing. Then, concluding that it was too fatiguing to remain in the trenches during the winter, they again disagreed. The King of Denmark wanted to withdraw his whole forces in order to protect Zealand in case the Sound

[1] See page 217.

should freeze, and preferred to have his winter quarters in Holstein. The King of Poland thought that the troops should winter in Pomerania, and blockade the three towns of Wismar, Stettin, and Stralsund. He called attention to the difficulty which they might have in the spring in crossing the rivers in case they once evacuated the country. The two Dolgorúkies, after great difficulty, succeeded in bringing about an arrangement by which 6,000 Danes and all the Saxons should remain with the Russians in Pomerania.

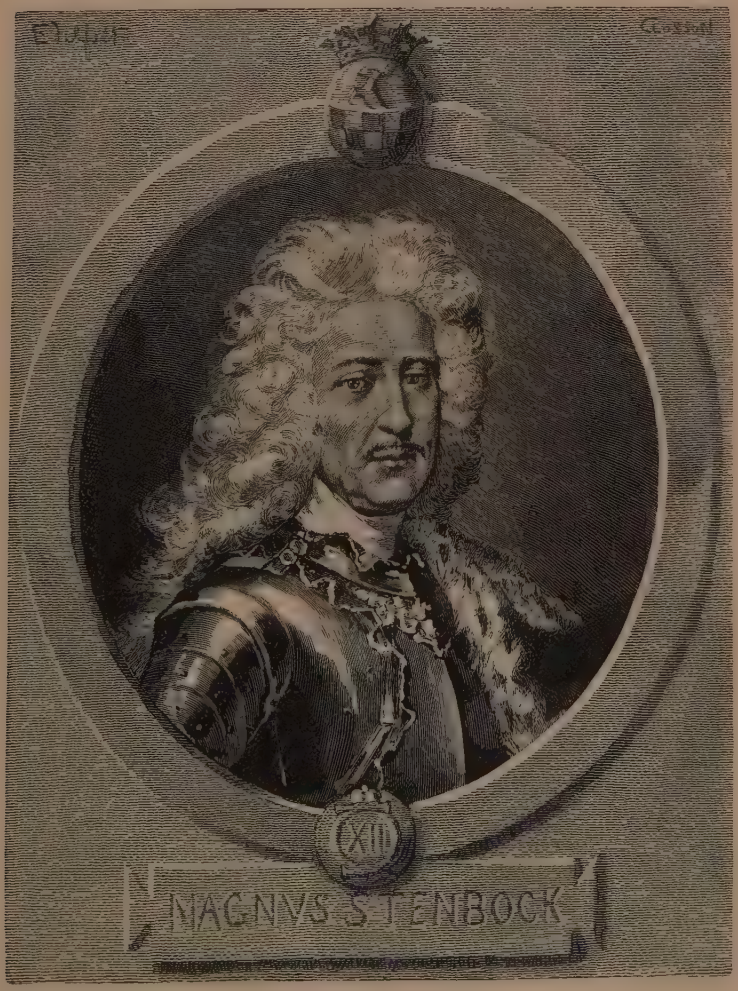
The invasion of Pomerania created difficulties on more sides than one. France had long supported Sweden, and England and Holland now took up a hostile attitude to Russia. The new Russian Minister at London, Von der Lieth, in November, 1711, reported St. John, the Secretary of State, as saying: 'The allies in Pomerania are acting beyond all measure. They asserted in the beginning that they only wished to drive out the Swedish corps of General Krassow. Now it is plain that their intention is to expel the King of Sweden from Germany. This is too much.' The war of the Spanish Succession was about coming to an end, the negotiations for peace were beginning, and the Russian diplomatists feared that if England and Holland got their hands free they would support Sweden. It was an object then to form an alliance with these countries, and success in Pomerania would show them that a Russian alliance was worth having.

Unfortunately this success was not at once to be gained. Menshikóf was sent to command the Russian army in Pomerania, in March, 1712, with large reinforcements. He passed through Berlin one Sunday morning, and demanded an immediate audience of the King, who was at church. Ilgen had difficulty in persuading him to wait until afternoon. He refused an invitation to dinner, as 'he had enough to eat.' Putting on his haughtiest manner, he said to the King that the Tsar, his master, asked for so many cannon; when the King hesitated, and said he had expected a different proposition, Menshikóf withdrew; he would await his Majesty's answer at Gartz. Prince Basil Dolgorúky was ordered to use his diplomatic tact in promoting harmony among the allies. But the allies were hard to manage. They accused each other of trying

to make a separate peace, and the time of the conferences was passed in explanations and recriminations. The Danes objected to sending their fleet on account of lack of funds. They were unwilling to take part in the operations in Pomerania because they thought it easier and more profitable for themselves to occupy Bremen, lest England and Holland, after the conclusion of peace with France, should compel them to what otherwise might be a disadvantageous peace with Sweden.

At this juncture Peter arrived in Pomerania, having taken about a month for his journey from St. Petersburg, partly by sea from Memel to Elbing, and partly along the coast. He was accompanied by Catherine, the Tsarévitch Alexis being already with the army. He found Menshikóf blockading Stettin, but unable to attack it because the Danes refused him their artillery, on the ground that it was the duty of the Poles to furnish it. Peter himself, after inspecting various positions, went to Anclam to confer with the Danish admiral on this subject. The week he spent on board the Danish fleet, while waiting for an answer from the King of Denmark, and the little cruise which he made on three Russian ships which had been built at Archangel, and which he saw for the first time, gave him the only pleasure which he had through the summer. The artillery was refused, and it became necessary first to make one plan, and then another, until he finally consented that the first attack should be made on the island of Rügen. Here, however, 9,000 Swedes had just been landed under Count Magnus Stenbock, though the Danish fleet had destroyed their transports, and the allies were obliged to retire. The sole success during the whole summer was the occupation by the King of Denmark of Stade, in the territory of Bremen. How Peter felt may be seen from a sad letter to Menshikóf, which ends: 'I consider myself very unfortunate to have come here. God sees my good intentions, and the crooked dealings of others. I cannot sleep at night on account of the way in which I am treated.' To the King of Denmark Peter wrote at length, laying upon him the blame of the failure of the campaign: 'I think that your Majesty knows that I have not only furnished the number of troops agreed upon last year at Yaroslav with the King of Poland, but even three times as many, and besides that, for the common interests,

I have come here myself, not sparing my health with the constant fatigue and long journey. But on my arrival here I find the army idle, because the artillery promised by you has not



Count Magnus Stenbock.

come, and when I asked your Vice-Admiral Segestet about it, he replied that it could not be given without your particular order. I am greatly at a loss to understand why these changes

are made, and why favourable time is thus being wasted; from which, besides the loss in money and to the common interests, we shall gain nothing except the ridicule of our enemies. I have always been, and am, ready to help my allies in everything that the common interest demands. If you do not comply with this request of mine (to send the artillery), I can prove to you and the whole world that this campaign has not been lost by me, and I shall then not be to blame if, as I am inactive here, I am obliged to withdraw my troops, because on account of the dearness of things here it is a waste of money, and I cannot endure being dishonoured by the enemy.'

Anxiety such as this, combined with the hard campaign life, weighed upon Peter's health, and in October he went for a month to Carlsbad. On the way he stopped at Wittenberg, where he visited the tomb of Luther, and the house in which he had lived. Some of the clergy showed him the ink-spot on the wall, and told the story of Luther's throwing his inkstand at the devil. Peter laughed and said: 'Did such a wise man really believe that the devil could be seen?' When they asked him to write something on the wall, he consented, and wrote: 'The ink is quite fresh, so that it is evidently not true.' From Carlsbad, Peter went to Teplitz, for another course of baths, but, after a stay of two or three days, he was called away by the news that Stenbock, with 18,000 Swedish troops, in spite of morasses and bad roads, had left Pomerania by way of Dammgarten, and had invaded Mecklenburg. Reports, too, reached him of negotiations between King Augustus and the Swedes, for a separate peace. There was much truth in these. King Frederick of Prussia was so anxious to gain something, that while assuring the Russians of his friendship, he had sent Colonel Eosander to lay his plans before Charles XII. at Bender, and had even persuaded the ex-King Stanislas to sacrifice his claims, and go on the same errand. Swedes, Saxons, and Prussians were to unite against Russia, Bremen was to be put under the safeguard of a German state, and Stettin was the price of Prussia's interference. Stenbock and Flemming even made an armistice, and had frequent interviews. All, however, was brought to an end by the absolute refusal of Charles XII. to recognise Augustus as King of Poland.

Peter wrote at once from Teplitz to the King of Denmark to come to his troops in Holstein and unite with the Russian forces to attack the enemy; and again on November 23, from Dresden, where he was resting for a week after the waters: 'I hope your Majesty recognises the necessity of such action. I beseech you in the most friendly and brotherly way, and at the same time I declare, that although my health demands repose after my cure, yet, seeing the urgent need, I will not neglect this profitable affair, and will go to the army.' To Menshikóf he wrote: 'For God's sake, if there be a good opportunity, even if I do not succeed in getting to you, do not lose time, but in the Lord's name attack the enemy.'

Leibnitz, remembering his conversation with the Tsar at Torgau in the preceding year, was desirous of another interview, and through correspondence with Bruce and Schleinitz, managed to procure an invitation from the Tsar to join him at Carlsbad. The Duke Anton Ulrich on learning this made him the bearer of some political messages. There had been for some time a coolness between Austria and Russia. It had been aggravated by disputes about etiquette, and decidedly increased by the marriage of the Tsarévitch Alexis. The widow of the late Emperor Joseph had been particularly dissatisfied, as she had hoped to marry Alexis to one of her own daughters, and thus procure public Catholic service in Russia. The new Emperor Charles, whose wife was a sister of the Crown Princess, had not these feelings, and desired nothing better than a reconciliation with Russia. He had therefore applied to his father-in-law to mediate. As the Tsar was not at this time expected at Wolfenbüttel, the Duke, who had no desire to take a long journey to meet him, entrusted the matter to Leibnitz. After various delays, Leibnitz reached Carlsbad a few days before Peter's departure, and accompanied him to Teplitz and Dresden. He had great ambition of making a figure in diplomacy, and acquitted himself skilfully of his mission; but as the Russians had already two representatives at Vienna, they had no desire to employ a stranger, and gave him a somewhat indefinite answer. The Duke, who seems to have taken up the matter solely *pro formâ*, and to have cared comparatively little how it turned out, pressed it no further.

If Leibnitz were discontented with the political results, he was fully satisfied with what he accomplished in other ways. We do not know the exact answer which was given to his proposition to found universities and schools, but he was taken into the Russian service with the title of Councillor of Justice, with a salary of a thousand thalers a year,[1] for the purpose of promoting education, and was asked besides to give his special attention to plans for legal reform. His salary was to begin from 1711, and while at Carlsbad he received 500 ducats as back pay. In a letter to the Electress Sophia, he says: 'I found his Majesty on the point of finishing his cure. He nevertheless desired to wait some days before leaving here, because last year he found himself unwell from having begun to travel immediately after his cure. . . . Your Electoral Highness will find it extraordinary that I am to be in some sort the Solon of Russia, although at a distance. That is to say that the Tsar has told me through Golófkin, his Grand Chancellor, that I am to reform the laws and draw up some regulations for the administration of justice. As I hold that the best laws are shortest, like the Ten Commandments or the Twelve Tables of Ancient Rome, and as this subject is one of my earliest studies, this will scarcely keep me long; so that I shall not have great need of hastening.' His jest about the 'Russian Solon' reached the Duke, who, in one of the intimate letters which he was in the habit of writing, says: 'I am astonished at your success; and am delighted that another Solon in your person has come into the world. But he must perform his duties very carefully, lest he make himself a new St. Andrew, and instead of 300 ducats get a cross for his pay.' Leibnitz in reply says: 'I am very glad to have made your Highness laugh a little at my "Russian Solon." But a Russian Solon does not need the wisdom of the Greeks, and can get along with less. The cross of St. Andrew I should like very well if it were set in diamonds, but these are not given in Hanover, but only by the Tsar. Still my 500 ducats were very acceptable.'

At Königstein Peter put the commandant into a very awk-

[1] This salary was never paid, and we find Leibnitz claiming it on several occasions.

ward position by asking to see the prisoners, though strict orders had been given to the contrary. He insisted, and said that he would take the whole responsibility, and on his promising not to speak to any of them, the commandant yielded. During his week's stay at Dresden, the Tsar insisted on living in the house of the court jeweller, Dinglinger, though he frequently dined with Count Lesgewang, who had accompanied him from Königstein, at the hotel where Golófkin and others of his suite were lodging. From Dresden Peter went to Berlin, and from Berlin to his troops in Mecklenburg, arriving at Lage, the Russian headquarters, on December 9.

Peter had also stopped at Berlin on going to Carlsbad. Baron Manteuffel writes to Count Flemming a description of this visit: 'The Tsar arrived here last Tuesday at 7 P.M. We were in the tabagie when the Field-Marshal came to inform the King, who asked me how he had been received in Dresden. I said that, though the King was absent, all sorts of honours had been offered to him, but he had accepted almost nothing, and had lodged in a private house. His Majesty replied that he would likewise offer him everything. "*Nimmt er's nicht an*," he said, "*so mag er's bleiben lassen.*"

'The Tsar lodged with Count Golófkin, and sent him to inform the King of his arrival. The King and the Queen sent to compliment him. Half an hour later the Tsar went to the palace, and going up the private staircase surprised the King in his bedroom, playing chess with the Prince Royal. The two Majesties stayed half an hour together. Then the Tsar looked at the apartments in which the King of Denmark had stayed, admired them, but refused to occupy them. A supper was given to him by the Prince Royal, there being eight at table besides the Tsar, who allowed no toasts, ate, though he had already supped, but did not drink.

'Yesterday the Tsar went to the arsenal. When about to breakfast, the King came to make a visit, and invited the Tsar to dine. The Tsar accepted, but afterwards put it off for supper. He came to see the Queen, whom he found surrounded by ladies of the city. After half an hour he went to the King in the tabagie, put on a fine red coat embroidered with gold, instead of his pelisse, which he found too hot, and

went to supper. He was gallant enough to give his hand to the Queen, after having put on a rather dirty glove. The King and all the Royal Family *utriusque sexus* supped with him, the Golófkins, Kurákin, &c.

'The Tsar surpassed himself during all this time. He neither belched, nor ——, nor picked his teeth—at least, I neither saw nor heard him do so—and he conversed with the Queen and with the Princesses without showing any embarrassment. The crowd of spectators was very great. After supper the Tsar conducted the Queen to her apartment. She, at the instigation of M. Frisendorff, took occasion to speak in favour of Rehnskjöld. He said plainly that nothing was to be done, and as the Queen continued to insist, he left her, embraced the King for good-bye, and, after making a general bow to all the company, went off with such long strides that it was impossible for the King to keep up with him. At seven this morning he left for Potsdam and further.' When Peter went next to Berlin, King Frederick was dead, and he met with a different reception.

Stenbock had been sent into Germany with troops raised and equipped with the utmost difficulty,[1] in order, after joining those already in Pomerania, to march into Poland to meet Charles XII., who, thinking that his intrigues at the Porte were successful, had at last decided on returning, and who expected to be accompanied by an army of Turks and Tartars. The first detachment of 10,000 men was safely landed in Rügen at the end of September; but thirty transports, with the greater part of the provisions and war material, were destroyed by the Danish fleet. Stenbock waited vainly during a month for the second detachment, and then, lacking provisions,

[1] Sweden was wearied out with the war as well as exhausted, and her nobles, remembering the manner in which they had been treated by Charles XII. on his accession, were unwilling to make sacrifices. An example of the prevailing feeling may be seen in a letter from Wellingk to Feif: 'Tell the King what I cannot write him directly, that Sweden can send no more troops to Germany, if she has to defend herself both against Denmark and especially against the Tsar, who has already conquered the Baltic provinces and part of Finland, and now threatens to invade the country and lay Stockholm in ashes. *The patience of Sweden is great, but not so great as to wish to become Russian.*' See *Fryxell*, iii., p. 194.

marched to Stralsund; took there what was absolutely necessary, and advanced, as we have said, with great difficulties over the bad roads into Mecklenburg, intending to remain in the neighbourhood of Wismar until the reinforcements arrived. It was during this time, while he was encamped near Schwaan, that he carried on negotiations with Flemming for a peace, and finally arranged an armistice for fourteen days. Just as this was expiring, he had news that the Danes were marching against him from Holstein, and had arrived at Gadebusch. Having intercepted a letter of the Tsar, suggesting that he be surrounded and shut up in Wismar or, better, Rostock, he felt that his only hope of safety was in defeating the Danes before the Russians joined them, and getting into Holstein. He therefore marched swiftly towards Gadebusch, where there were about 15,000 Danes under the command of General von Scholten, attacked them on December 20, in spite of a snowstorm, and completely defeated them, with a loss to himself of over 1,500 men—a very serious loss in his position. Count Flemming, with 3,000 Saxon cavalry, had joined the Danes after the battle had begun, and it was their flight at the first onset, before they were touched, that decided the battle. King Frederick IV., who had greatly exposed himself, was nearly taken prisoner. Maurice de Saxe, the son of King Augustus and Aurora Köningsmark, served as a volunteer, and 'learned from his countrymen,' as an historian says, 'how not to fight.' The Tsar, who was already at Krivitz, only about thirty miles away, in his letters unjustly blamed the King of Denmark for this defeat, accusing him of hastening the engagement, contrary to his repeated requests, so that he might have all the advantages of the victory for himself. In reality, the Russians were too slow for Stenbock, though the Saxon troops could have easily arrived in time. The Danes retired southwards, but Stenbock did not pursue them, as he did not wish to be led too far away from Wismar. He waited still ten days, vainly looking for the Swedish fleet, until the formation of an ice-crust on the shore showed him he could wait no longer. He might, perhaps, have still saved his army if he had gone back to Stralsund, where he could have found provisions enough to last till spring; but, led by the representation of Wellingk, the Swedish Governor of

the province of Bremen, then Minister in Hamburg, who had assured him that Charles XII. was on his march, that the Saxons and Russians would be obliged immediately to go towards Poland, and he would have only the Danes to fight, moved into Holstein and took up a position at Segeberg. Finding this untenable, he resolved to cover himself by the Eider, while making the country behind him hard for the enemy's march. In shutting himself up in this peninsula he recalled the bold march of Carl Gustavus in 1657 over the ice from Jutland to the islands, and his sudden appearance before Copenhagen. But a speedy thaw prevented any such attempt. On his march northwards, Stenbock, yielding again to the advice of Wellingk, on the night of January 8 burned Altona, a town of about 10,000 inhabitants. The citizens in vain entreated him for delay, offering him 42,000 thalers, all they could raise of the hundred thousand demanded, for the ransom of the place. Only thirty houses and three churches remained. Two or three days afterwards, another detachment burnt the remainder, with the exception of five houses. The excuse offered for this useless and unprofitable act of barbarity was that bread was being prepared at Altona for the allied troops—which was untrue—and that it was in reprisal for the bombardment of Stade—a fortified town—and for acts committed by the Russians in Livonia. The inhabitants of Hamburg, who viewed the rise of Altona with jealousy, have always been accused of suggesting this act, an accusation apparently without other foundation than that Wellingk gave a supper party, at which a toast was drunk to Hamburg, and took his guests out to the walls to see the conflagration; and that, under pretext of the pest which existed in Altona, the authorities of Hamburg rigidly shut the gates and refused, even on that bitterly cold night, to receive any of the fugitives, who took refuge on neutral ground, the Hamburg Hill, now the suburb of St. Pauli. The next day, however, to their credit, some artisans came from Hamburg to help extinguish the flames, and aid was given to the destitute inhabitants, for which thanks were subsequently rendered by the King of Denmark.

After the defeat at Gadebusch, Peter retired from Krivitz to Güstrow; but on receiving repeated requests for assistance

from the King of Denmark, he marched through Mölln, and after stopping a day or two in Hamburg, reached Altona eight days after the fire. His sympathetic nature was aroused by the sight of the ruins. He distributed a thousand rubles among the poor, and promised the citizens special commercial advantages at Archangel (a promise which was never fulfilled). It was winter, the whole flat country was flooded, and the Russians and Danes had a very difficult march northwards over the dikes, which were cut in many places, the mud being sometimes so thick and sticky as to pull the shoes off the feet of the soldiers. At Slesvig the Tsar and the Danish King, with whom he had already made acquaintance, were hospitably received by the Duke Christian Augustus, the Administrator of Holstein-Gottorp. In looking over the curiosities of the place, Peter was much pleased with a globe made under the directions of the well-known Olearius, large enough for twelve men to sit inside while it revolved, and greatly coveted it; he subsequently wrote three times to Menshikóf to try to obtain it for him and send it carefully to St. Petersburg, getting even a passport from the Swedes if necessary.[1] The allied headquarters were at Husum, while Stenbock and the Swedes were close by at Friedrichstadt. They were expelled from the place after a sharp fight, and shut up in the little peninsula of Eiderstedt, where, after vainly trying to cross the Eider southwards, they took refuge in the fortress of Tönning, which had been put at their disposition by the Government of Holstein.

Now that the Swedes were shut in there was no necessity for the Tsar's further presence with the army. He resolved to return to St. Petersburg, where many things needed him. The Turks had again for the third time declared war, and it was necessary to think about the defence of southern Russia. There were rumours, too, that there was a strong feeling in England in favour of Sweden, and that English ships would not only relieve Stenbock, but would make a diversion on the Baltic. The

[1] This globe was brought to St. Petersburg in the winter of 1715, and put into the building formerly inhabited by the elephant sent by the Shah of Persia. From Königsberg it came on a special sledge, and in many places it was necessary to widen the road and lop off the branches of the trees. (Weber, 231.)

Swedish Minister at London was indeed making strong representations of the necessity of helping Stenbock, and himself fitted out some vessels for his relief, which were intercepted by the Danish fleet. Any feeling of sympathy that the English might have had was at once killed on receiving the news of the adventure of Charles XII. at Bender—the famous Kalabalik—and his subsequent removal to Demotika. This of course was not yet known in Holstein, and Peter before departing found it necessary to write to Queen Anne a strong letter against English interference. Leaving Menshikóf in charge of the troops, which he placed under the supreme command of the King of Denmark, with whom he had just exchanged the order of St. Andrew for that of the Elephant, Peter set out on January 25 for Hanover, where he wished to make the acquaintance of the Elector George Louis, soon to be King George I. of England. Catherine, who had been separated from him very frequently during the campaign,[1] had been sent to Russia from Güstrow, at the end of December, together with the Tsarévitch Alexis. 'The Elector,' Peter wrote, 'appeared very favourably inclined, and gave me much advice, but does not wish to do anything actively. He advised me also when our troops should be free to put them into the service of Holland.' He sent Menshikóf at the same time the terms on which an agreement could be made for this purpose with the Dutch. From Hanover Peter went to Wolfenbüttel, to arrange with the old Duke Anton Ulrich a delicate affair regarding the Crown Princess Charlotte. Immediately after her marriage she had accompanied Alexis to Thorn, and when he was sent into Pomerania she waited for him at Elbing. Wearied and annoyed by the intrigues which went on about her, separated from her husband, and in need of money, instead of going to Russia, as she had been ordered by the Tsar, she had suddenly in December gone to her mother at Wolfenbüttel, a step as displeasing to her family as to the Tsar. Sensible of her folly, she dared not write to the Tsar to come, but begged the Chancellor Golófkin to intercede for her. Peter had an interview with her at the castle of Salzdahl, became reconciled to her, supplied her with money, and sent her on

[1] Some of Peter's letters to his wife during these absences will be found in vol. i., p. 441.

to St. Petersburg. The old Duke was quieted in mind, and hastened to share his joy with Leibnitz. 'The Tsar has been with us this week both at Salzdahl and at Brunswick. The gallery and the opera pleased him very much, and in general he was in excellent spirits. He was very kind to the Tsarévna, gave her large presents and begged her to hasten her journey to Moscow. Next week she is really going to start, and to all appearances to leave Europe for ever.' At Hanover Peter had learned the death of King Frederick of Prussia, and being anxious to see the extent of the 'good disposition' of the new King, as reported to him by Golófkin, and at the same time to avoid the mourning, went to Schönhausen, in the neighbourhood of Berlin, where he remained several days. 'I have found the new King,' he wrote to Menshikóf, 'very pleasant, but cannot decide him to any action; as far as I can understand, from two reasons, first, because he has no money, and second, because there are still here many dogs of Swedish heart, and the King himself is unskilled in political matters, and when he asks his Ministers for advice they help the Swedes in every way. Besides, he has not yet looked about him. Seeing this, after confirming our friendship, I let the matter drop. If I could do anything here of course I would return to you by water. The Court here, as we have seen, is not so grand as it was before. The present King has sent off very many people, and still more I think will be retired, among whom are many artisans who are seeking for service. Therefore, when our affairs approach conclusion, send General Bruce to Berlin to hire master workmen and artists, who are necessary for us, especially architects, joiners, metal-workers, &c.' Peter had much talk with Frederick William about an alliance, and a convention was even drawn up, by which the Tsar was to withdraw his troops from Germany as soon as the Swedish forces were driven out, as well as from Poland, and Prussia agreed not to allow the Swedes to enter Poland, the Tsar promising at the same time to endeavour to induce the Poles to cede Elbing to Prussia.[1] The new King, while as anxious to increase his territories as his father

[1] This draft convention, as well as several others, notably that proposed at Greifswald in September, 1712, is by some chance published in the *Complete Collection of Russian Laws*, No. 2,649, as if it had been signed.

had been, felt in no hurry. He wished first, he said, to have a year's time to put his army and his finance in order, and to thoroughly know the situation.[1] King Frederick William, in spite of his mourning, insisted on the Tsar spending at least a few hours at Berlin, and they drove through the city in the same carriage. Leaving here on March 14, Peter arrived at St. Petersburg on April 2, having in passing through Mitau heard that Catherine had given birth to a daughter named Margarita Maria.

As if to add to the perplexities of the situation, a new centre of intrigue rapidly developed in Holstein, with regard to the fortress of Tönning. The strings were pulled by Goertz, who, for the next five years, was to play a leading part in diplomacy —a man in some sense in advance of his times, for he perceived that the only way to save Holstein was to make its existence a European question. In accordance with a curious arrangement brought about by inheritances and divisions, Slesvig and Holstein were governed at this time partly by the King of Denmark and partly by the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. The late Duke, Frederick IV., who had married Hedwiga Sophia, the sister of Charles XII., had been killed at the battle of Klissow in 1702, leaving an infant son, Charles Frederick, now receiving his education in Sweden. During the minority of this boy the Duchies were governed by a regency, at the head of which, after his mother's death, was his uncle, Christian Augustus, the Prince-Bishop of Eutin, with the title of Duke-Administrator. Of weak character, governed by his mistresses, his favourites, and his wife, who in less than fifteen years bore him twelve children (one of whom, Adolphus Frederick, subsequently became King of Sweden), the Duke-Administrator allowed the real management of affairs to rest in the hands of Goertz, the Prime Minister. Baron George Henry von Schlitz, named von Goertz, a descendant of a noble Franconian family, after studying at Jena became attached to the Court of Frederick IV. of Holstein, and accompanied him on his wedding journey to Stock-

[1] A letter of Frederick William to his Ministers of November 5, 1713, shows his ideas. "Je suis un jeune commenceur et point de tout encore [en état] de soutenir la moindre chose avec vigueur; pour cela il faut aller piano pour ne pas se brouiller."

holm,[1] at the time of the 'Gottorp fury,' and, subsequently, to the army in Poland, and after his death he was sent back with the body by Charles XII. Tall, handsome (in spite of an artificial eye to replace one which he had lost in a student duel), of engaging manners, witty, lively, ready in conversation, endowed with a clear, incisive, and convincing style in writing, free in spending money, not always careful as to how he obtained it, audacious, shifty, utterly unscrupulous, Goertz, in spite of rumours against his courage as well as his honour, had succeeded in obtaining friends, position, and wealth, and in making a rich and distinguished marriage; had ingratiated himself in turn with the Duchess and with the Duke-Administrator, to whom he had really rendered many important services; had displaced and imprisoned the able and experienced Wedderkop, the only statesman who could hold head against him, and now, at the age of forty-five, was the real ruler of Holstein. He had so far been able to maintain the neutrality of the Gottorp share of Holstein, and yet, notwithstanding the Swedish connections, to remain on excellent terms with the Danes. When Stenbock advanced into Mecklenburg their relations were still cordial, but after the battle of Gadebusch, with the rumours, too, of Charles' speedy return with a Turkish army, when it seemed as if the Swedes were again about to get the upper hand, overtures were made to Stenbock. Goertz, besides, could not forget that the young Duke, Charles Frederick, as the nephew of the unmarried Charles XII., was the presumptive heir to the Swedish crown. A most secret convention was therefore made with Stenbock, by which the latter was to be admitted into the fortress of Tönning, on condition that it should be subsequently restored to Holstein, and that if the Swedes were victorious in the war Holstein should be indemnified for its losses by the cession of Segeberg and Pinneberg. He wished, however, to cover the Administrator from the wrath of the Danes, and therefore provided Stenbock with a forged order of admission to the fortress, dated back in July, 1712, purporting to be signed by the young Duke, who was only twelve years of age and had no power to transact public business. At the last moment, when

[1] See vol. i., p. 385.

it was seen that the Swedes, cooped up in the Eiderstedt, had no chance before the allies, Stambke was sent post-haste with a counter order. But it was too late. Stambke was somehow detained as a suspicious character, and the Swedes had appeared and been admitted. The King of Denmark was not imposed upon by the transaction, and, angry at this breach of neutrality, occupied the towns of Slesvig and Kiel, and subsequently the whole of the Gottorp possessions and the Bishopric of Eutin. The Duke-Administrator had taken time by the forelock, and had gone to Hamburg before the delivery of the fortress.

This intrigue having proved unsuccessful in preserving Holstein from loss, Goertz now tried the other tack, and entered into communication with the Danes to procure Stenbock's surrender, provided that the territory of Holstein should be immediately evacuated by the allies and an indemnity paid for the losses caused by the war. For this purpose he went to Stenbock at Tönning, and then to Wellingk at Hamburg, and, on returning to the camp at Husum, assured Flemming and Dolgorúky that Stenbock would certainly surrender. The Danes were disposed to agree to this, and had already prepared a convention in this sense, when the Russians objected to the surrender being made to the Danes alone, and insisted that all the allies should be consulted. Menshikóf and Dolgorúky, convinced that the whole thing was a trick, procured the expulsion from Danish territory of Goertz, who immediately made a hasty diplomatic tour of Europe, applying first to the Tsar and to the Elector at Hanover, then to the King at Berlin, and then to Queen Anne at London, asking for the restitution, at least, of the Bishopric of Lübeck. Direct negotiations were now begun with Stenbock, which resulted in his surrender about the middle of May. His forces at that time numbered about 13,000, of whom 3,000 were in the hospital. It was agreed that on payment of a ransom of 80,000 thalers, Stenbock and his army should be allowed to return to Sweden. There were, however, long delays, and the additional amount for the subsistence of the troops ran the total up to 164,000 thalers, twice the sum which the Swedish Government had sent or could send. A complication was made also by the demand of the Tsar for the release

of all the Russian prisoners held in Sweden. Thus the army was lost to Sweden. Stenbock was at first well treated at Court at Copenhagen, but after several times attempting to escape was imprisoned in the fortress, where he died in 1716.

Although Stenbock and the Swedes had surrendered, yet the fortress of Tönning was still held by its garrison of Holsteiners, and the Danes continued the siege, refusing all inducements to assist at the siege of Stralsund. The Russians and Saxons marched back into Pomerania, occupied the island of Rügen, and laid siege, these to Stettin and the others to Stralsund. On the way Menshikóf sent a detachment to both Hamburg and Lübeck, and on the ground of libels against the Tsar which had gone unpunished, of Russian funds allowed to be seized by Sweden, of insults to Russian agents, and of the constant trade etween those towns and Sweden, a contribution in satisfaction of all claims was extorted from them, of 200,000 thalers from Hamburg, and a sixth of that sum from Lübeck. When Peter heard of this, he wrote to Menshikóf: 'Thanks for the money, which was taken from Hamburg in a good manner and without loss of time. Send the greater part of it to Kurákin. It is very necessary for the purchase of ships. After you have sent the greater part—if possible, at least half—to Kurákin, we can this spring construct about thirty ships and frigates. Wherefore I am sure you will not neglect this great matter.'

Goertz was again intriguing in Denmark, much to the displeasure of Dolgorúky, who refused to listen to any of his propositions, and, finding him such an implacable foe, he went to Menshikóf, and insinuated himself into his confidence with a proposition for cutting a ship-canal through Slesvig, and thus giving Russian ships an exit into the North Sea without passing through the Sound. He soon developed another idea of a close alliance between Russia and the House of Holstein-Gottorp, and even spoke of making a marriage between the young Duke and the Princess Anne, the eldest daughter of the Tsar. These overtures being favourably received, Goertz now proposed to persuade the commandants of the Swedish towns in Pomerania to surrender, on condition that those towns should be sequestered until the end of the war by the King of Prussia and the Admin-

istrator of Holstein, half the garrison in each to be Prussian, and half of Holstein troops. Menshikóf accepted these propositions, as he was sure it would please the Tsar, and would be the means of gradually dragging Prussia into the war. Bassewitz, one of the Holstein Ministers, went to Berlin, where he endeavoured to persuade King Frederick William to accept this joint sequestration, hinted at a further plan he had of giving the Swedish throne to the young Duke of Holstein in case of the death of Charles XII., and promised, in consideration of Prussian support for this plan, to transfer Stettin and its neighbourhood entirely to Prussia. The plans of Goertz and Wellingk, who acted with him, were set at nought by the refusal of Meyerfeld, the Commandant of Stettin, to give up that town, alleging his military oath. Goertz then pressed Menshikóf to hasten the siege. The King of Prussia was very anxious to receive Stettin and the other towns, even conjointly with the Holsteiners, but he wished this without effort or expense on his own part. He had, at first, entered warmly into the project,[1] but he did not wish to embroil himself. He therefore refused troops, and declined to lend the artillery to Menshikóf, who had already begun the siege of Stettin, because this would be an act of open war in which it would be dangerous for Prussia to engage.

Peter, who approved of the project of sequestration in case the Prussians could be made allies, was annoyed at the King's refusal and his apparent disposition to favour Holstein against Denmark, but at the same time was very circumspect. He objected to doing anything which might be construed as against the interests of his allies the Danes, and warned Menshikóf not to trust too much to the representations of Goertz. 'Although the Danes have shown themselves ungrateful, and act blindly

[1] A convention had been signed at Hamburg, June 10, 1713, between Wellingk and the Duke-Administrator, by which Wismar and Stettin were to be occupied by Gottorp and another neutral power until peace was made. On June 22 a treaty was made between Holstein and Prussia by which Pomerania was to be sequestered by Prussia, and occupied by Prussian and Holstein troops, Prussia agreeing to endeavour to obtain the restitution of Gottorp. A secret article recognised the succession of Holstein to Sweden, and promised the absolute cession of Pomerania to Prussia.

and badly, yet still they are enemies of the Swedes, and are necessary to us, especially at sea. It is still difficult to depend on our new friends the Holsteiners. God can turn Saul into Paul, but still I am somewhat of the belief of Thomas.' Two days later he wrote again: 'For God's sake act cautiously with them. It is better to keep the word of the Apostle, who writes: "Show me your faith from your works." One cannot believe words, for although, indeed, they desire to make their Prince King of Sweden, yet the old one is still alive. The acts of the Danes are not advantageous to us. But what is to be done? We should not make them angry on account of the Swedes.' Meanwhile Menshikóf had acted according to his own lights. At the end of August he had received the Saxon artillery, and, in consideration of that, had concluded a convention with Flemming, by which he bound himself to attack Stettin with the Russian troops alone, and then to sequester it to the King of Poland conjointly with the Administrator of Holstein; the King of Prussia to substitute himself for the King of Poland in this sequestration, on condition of paying the Russians and the Poles for their expenses during the siege. The siege went on so successfully after this, that Meyerfeld, the commandant, seeing no hope of holding out, on September 30, through the intervention of Bassewitz, agreed to abandon Stettin, and give it up in sequestration to the King of Prussia and the Administrator of Holstein. Two Swedish battalions were allowed to remain in the town after their taking the oath of allegiance to the Duke of Holstein. Then, proceeding to the little town of Schwedt, in Brandenburg, Menshikóf met King Frederick William and concluded an arrangement with him (October 6, 1713) for the sequestration of Stettin and its dependencies, as also of Stralsund and Wismar, when they should be taken. The expenses of the siege were estimated at 400,000 thalers, of which the King paid 100,000 down to the Russians, and promised 100,000 more by Christmas. The other 200,000 were to be paid by Holstein to the Saxons, the Prussians to advance the money if necessary. Menshikóf then marched towards the Russian frontier, leaving in Pomerania only 6,000 Russian troops. King Frederick William was delighted at getting what he so much desired. He begged Golófkin to inform the Tsar that, for

such a kindness, he would always keep his life and his property at the Tsar's service, and that no offers from Sweden could ever tempt him to act against Russian interests.[1]

[1] J. G. Droysen, *Friedrich I.*, *Friedrich Wilhelm I.*, Leipzig, 1869; F. von Ranke, *Genesis des Preussischen Staates*, Leipzig, 1874; Du Mont, *Corps Diplomatique: Collection of Russian Laws;* Fryxell; Sarauw; Lundblad and Volmeer; F. F. Carlson, *Om Fredsunderhandlingarne*, 1709–1718; Stockholm, 1857; King Oscar of Sweden, *Bidrag till Sveriges Krigshistoria*, 1711–1713, in *Kongl. Vitterhets Historie Handlingar*, Stockholm, 1862, 1864, 1867; *Archiv fur Sächsische Geschichte*, vol. xi., Leipzig, 1873; Papers from Saxon Archives in *Coll. of Imp. Russian Hist. Society*, vol. xx., St. Petersburg, 1877; Golikóf, v.; Soloviéf, xvii.; *Journal of Peter the Great*, i.; Guerrier, *Leibnitz.*

LXVII.

LAST FLICKERINGS OF WAR.—1713-1715.

When the Tsar reached St. Petersburg, he had already sufficiently detailed intelligence from his ambassadors in Turkey to ease his mind on the subject of any danger of war in that quarter, and although during that spring the southern frontiers were ravaged by the Tartars, he was able to devote all his attention to fitting out his fleet for a new expedition against Finland.

This expedition had been planned long before, and in the preceding November Peter had written from Carlsbad to Admiral Apráxin: 'This province is the mother of Sweden, as you yourself are aware; not only meat, &c., but even wood is brought from it, and if God let us get as far as Abo next summer, the Swedish neck will become easier to bend.'

About the very time that Stenbock and his troops surrendered at Tönning, Peter appeared off Helsingfors, a flourishing town situated on the best harbour of Finland, with a fleet of two hundred galleys and boats of all sorts, mostly small, having on board 16,000 troops. General Lybecker, who had made such an unlucky campaign against St. Petersburg in 1708,[1] had now the chief command in Finland. He was very unpopular, constant complaints were preferred against him at Stockholm, and a strong movement had been made to remove him; but as he had been appointed personally by the King, the Council after several discussions did not dare interfere, even when Tessin said: 'It is a question whether we shall get rid of Lybecker or of Finland.' There being but a small garrison at Helsingfors, the Swedes abandoned it and burned the stores, as they could not carry them away, to prevent them falling into the hands of

[1] See pp. 90, 91.

the Russians. Finding this state of things, the Russian fleet immediately sailed for the neighbouring port of Borga. Lybecker retired from Borga, which place was immediately occupied by the Russians, and began a series of marches and countermarches in the interior, keeping always at a safe distance from the coast and the enemy. The Russians advanced as far as Abo, the capital of Finland, which had also been abandoned. The Government property and the University library had been taken to Stockholm, and most of the inhabitants had taken refuge in the Aland isles. It was not, however, until October that Apráxin and Golítsyn came up with the Swedish troops under Armfelt, a native Finlander—Lybecker having been temporarily recalled to Stockholm—stationed in an advantageous position at the defile of Pälkäne, about half-way between Tavastehus and the present Tammerfors. The Swedes were defeated with great loss (October 17, 1713), and all southern Finland was in the power of the Russians. The conquest was completed by another battle at Stor Kyro, near Vasa, on March 2, 1714, where Armfelt and his troops showed great bravery, and lost over 2,000 men. In the following summer (August 9, 1714), the little fortress of Nyslot was taken, and no more Swedish troops remained in the country. At about the same time (August 8, 1714) the Tsar, who had been cruising about the gulf the whole summer, gained his first great naval battle off Hangö Udd. The trophies of this victory were a frigate, nine galleys, and 116 guns. Ehrenskjöld, the Swedish admiral, was rescued from drowning and treated with great consideration. Well could Peter return to St. Petersburg in triumph, assume the rank of Vice-Admiral, which, with the repetition of the same old farce, was conferred upon him by Ramodanófsky acting as Majesty in a full Senate, delight himself by feastings at Menshikóf's house and elsewhere, and at the launching of a ship, the keel of which he had himself laid, ask his comrades whether twenty years before any of them ever dreamed of winning a naval battle in the Baltic with ships built by their own hands, and living in this town built on soil conquered from the enemy.[1]

[1] In the naval campaign of 1713 Vice-Admiral Cruys, who had served with honour since the formation of the fleet, had incurred the Tsar's displeasure by

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During these two years, 1713 and 1714, so much of which he spent at sea, and notwithstanding attacks of illness, Peter busied himself also with constructing harbours at Reval, arranging commercial matters at Riga, sending exploring expeditions to Central Asia, receiving Persian, Khivan and Kalmuck embassies, building ships, investigating mineral waters, improving St. Petersburg at the cost of other towns, finishing his palace and gardens, translating and reprinting books, providing for the education of the youth, and endeavouring to prevent and punish the peculation of Government officials—some of high rank and great in favour—of which more hereafter. But nothing occurred of sufficient importance to detain us from considering the progress of events in Pomerania.

The news of the sequestration of Stettin was not received with as much pleasure at Copenhagen as at Berlin. The Danes, who soon learned of the treaty Goertz had made with Prussia, complained bitterly of the wrong which had been done them in favour of the Duke of Holstein, who was an adherent of Sweden. They laid the blame chiefly, however, upon Flemming, and admitted that they would have been satisfied if Stettin had been given up solely to the King of Prussia and no mention had been made of the Administrator. The feeling against Holstein became so bitter that all negotiations came to an end, and Goertz felt obliged to leave Denmark concealed in a peasant's cart. Peter replied to the complaining letter of the King of Denmark, by admitting that certain articles of the treaty of sequestration were against the general interest, but explained that Menshikóf had been obliged to accept them in order to obtain the concurrence of the King of Prussia; that when the other towns came to be sequestered, he would see that means were taken to protect the interests of Denmark, but that he could make no change with regard to Stettin as the treaty had already gone into effect, and had besides been made with

pointing out the great dangers of the Finnish coast. Unluckily he experienced the truth of his predictions. While pursuing the Swedes two of his ships got aground. He was tried by a court-martial of Russians, and, being a foreigner, was condemned to death, which the Tsar, at the request of the good-hearted Catherine, commuted to degradation and exile in Kazan, which lasted till 1715, when he was pardoned.

the King of Poland, to whose share this city had been allotted in the division. He delayed, however, for some time the ratification.

Prussia had already justified the fears of the Danes by demanding under threats the evacuation of Holstein. The representations of Count Alexander Golófkin at Berlin, and the displeasure of France at Prussia's occupying the Swedish possessions in Germany, caused King Frederick William to desist from further representations on this subject. Nevertheless, the Danes were still disquieted on the score of Prussia, and also because the Duke of Holstein was the nearest heir to the Swedish throne, and they were unwilling to come to terms with him unless he either resigned his rights to the Swedish crown or bound himself not to unite Holstein and Slesvig to Sweden. The Tsar ordered Dolgorúky to state that he himself shared this view, and that even other states would not allow the Duchies and Sweden to be under the same rule.

Although England had gained little by all her sacrifices in the War of the Spanish Succession, and the Treaty of Utrecht, now about to be concluded, left everything much as it was before, there were still found English statesmen who were unwilling to recognise the laws of history, and who, for the sake of British commerce and imaginary British interests, wished to restore what they called the 'balance of power' in the North. In February, 1713, Lord Strafford, the English Minister at the Hague, said to Prince Kurákin that, in the interests of English commerce, it was necessary to end the Northern War, and that England intended to restore the previous equilibrium. It was hard for Russia to come to terms with Sweden, but it would be wrong to detach Livonia from Sweden, and the Tsar ought to content himself with St. Petersburg. He insinuated to influential people in Holland that if Russia had a harbour on the Baltic the Russian fleet would become dangerous, not only to neighbouring, but to distant States; and the English merchants trading in the Baltic made an address to the Queen against allowing a Russian port, the result of which would be that Russian trade would be carried on in Russian instead of, as formerly, in Dutch and English ships. A Dutch Minister returned from Copenhagen reported the Tsar as having said to him that he would be

ready to accept the mediation of the Emperor and Holland, because he hoped in their disinterestedness, but suspected England of hostility. He would be moderate if the mediators were moderate and used no threats, but in the contrary case he would ruin Livonia and the other provinces he had conquered in such a way that not one stone should be left on another. In June, Lord Strafford demanded that Russia, Saxony, and Denmark should accept the mediation of England and Holland. Kurákin was instructed to avoid mediation if possible, but to accept good offices, and to include in the preliminary articles the restoration to Russia of the old Russian provinces—Ingria and Karelia—which had been ceded by the peace of Stólbovo. Livonia the Tsar would give to Poland on condition that it never should be transferred to another power, and if necessary would give it up to Sweden, with the consent of the Poles, provided that the fortresses were razed. If England and Holland were strongly to support the Swedish side, he was to repeat the Tsar's remarks, that he would thoroughly destroy all the towns he had conquered rather than give them back to the enemy in their integrity ; for to give back fortresses into the hands of an enemy is one's self to let the serpent into your bosom. Following the example of the Danes and Poles, 50,000 thalers were to be promised to Lord Strafford, and a good round sum to the go-between. Fifty thousand ducats were also set apart to influence Whitworth, the English delegate to the Brunswick conference. A conference of plenipotentiaries met, indeed, at Brunswick in 1713, but, as neither Russia, Poland, nor Sweden sent delegates, it accomplished nothing. Things went on as the Tsar wanted—very slowly.[1] England was occupied with home matters, and Holland was more troubled about the alliance between England and France, and the still continuing war between France and the Emperor, than about Northern affairs. Peter desired to profit by circumstances, and in order thoroughly to appease the Danish Government and excite it to an invasion of Sweden, he sent to

[1] Duke Anton Ulrich, in a letter to Leibnitz dated March 3, 1713, says: 'The conference here lasts always. It is much like a dovecote. One ambassador flies in while another flies out, and good Count Schönborn can never get them altogether.' And again on March 10: 'The conference here lasts on ever, and can indeed be called a *Zeitung's-Conferenz*, which regulates itself according to the gazettes received.'

assist Dolgorúky, at Copenhagen, Yaguzhínsky, a Pole by birth, who had long been in his service and close to his person, and whom, on account of his capacity and fidelity, he had promoted from an orderly to an aide-de-camp general.

The negotiations of Yaguzhínsky met with little success. He himself thought his coming had done more harm than good. The Danes believed that the Tsar had some secret reason for pressing them to action, and that greater subsidies could be obtained. Yaguzhínsky managed to get an invitation to supper with the King's mistress, Countess Reventlow, and there had a few words with the King, who demanded a written guarantee from Prussia and then aid in money. The Danes were plainly unwilling to evacuate Holstein, and had no money for fitting out their fleet. They would be willing to guarantee to the King of Prussia the possession of Stettin, if he would give a written promise to cease all relations with the Duke of Holstein and not interfere on his behalf, and would guarantee to Denmark the Duchies of Werden and Bremen. They demanded from the Russians a subsidy of 400,000 thalers, besides the 150,000 which were still unpaid. The capture of Tönning, in February, 1714, made no difference in the demands for subsidies, but the Danes eventually agreed that for 200,000 thalers, in addition to the unpaid sums, they would unite their fleet with the Russian for action against Carlscrona, under the command of the Tsar, but their troops must stay in Holstein, from fear of the King of Prussia.

Meanwhile Bassewitz appeared before Peter at Riga, and subsequently followed him to St. Petersburg, in order to speak for the interests of the young Duke of Holstein. He was in company with Schlippenbach, whom the King of Prussia had sent to hasten the ratification of the Schwedt convention, and who had been chosen, in part, on account of his capacity for drinking hard and still keeping sober. Personally, Bassewitz got on with Peter, though the Tsar laughed at the grand designs of such a small country, and said: 'Your Court, directed by the vast plans of Goertz, seems to me like a skiff carrying the mast of a man-of-war—the least side-wind will upset it.' But the good side of the sequestration of Stettin, and of Menshikóf's administration in Pomerania, had not yet shown itself; and the

Tsar, who had previously suspected the diplomatists of Holstein, was little disposed to listen seriously to Bassewitz, even though he was aided in drawing up his propositions by Menshikóf. At this time accusations of misconduct and of financial dishonesty were producing a coolness on the Tsar's part towards Menshikóf, who was placed in a critical position.[1] Peter, suspecting an intention of breaking up the alliance with Denmark, criticised and rejected most of the propositions of Bassewitz, which related to the restitution of his possessions to the Duke, his eventual succession to the Swedish throne, contained a proposition for the marriage of the Duke to the eldest daughter of the Tsar, and made various promises for the future. Copies of the correspondence found at Tönning, showing the intrigues of Goertz, had been sent by the Danes to the Tsar, and he now resolved to drop the whole business, saying: 'But what if Sweden buys the friendship of Denmark by the cession of the district of Bremen, and the friendship of Prussia by the cession of Stettin, and after that turns against me; yes! through the means of you intriguers of Holstein?' Dismissing Bassewitz, he added: 'Your reasons are good, but I have my own which are better. It would be unworthy of me to bear too hard on an ally who is entering into negotiations to repair his mistakes.' Bas-

[1] Weber writes to the Elector of Hanover, April 17-28, 1714: 'There are two parties here, one Menshikóf-Löwenwolde, and the other all the Chancery, the Senate, the Grand-Admiral Apráxin, Field-Marshal Sheremétief, and the two Dolgorúkies. All this last party are scarcely friends of Schlippenbach and Bassewitz, but many of them are so only to do harm to Prince Menshikóf, against whom great and small are extremely bitter.... The enemies of Menshikóf show themselves more and more against him since his return from Germany. The Senate has cited his secretary, Vólkof, to give an account of the great sums of money sent to Prince Menshikóf in Germany to pay the officers, of whom there are a great number here who complain that they have not received their pay. It is a step the Senate would never have dared to take in the past. But a great shock has been given to his fortune.'

Afterwards, when Prussia had joined the alliance, Menshikóf, in talking with the Dutch Minister, De Bie, spoke of the cry raised against him on his return from Pomerania, and said: 'Now they keep quiet. This sequestration ought to have ruined me, but now it is the reason that the Prussian King, in order to keep Stettin, which is so dear to him, has concluded a new treaty of alliance with His Majesty the Tsar. These then are the fruits of my bad administration! What has Denmark done? Nothing, only cheated His Tsarish Majesty.'

sewitz was then requested to leave Russia, though, out of personal regard for him, the order was put in an inoffensive way.

Goertz, who was plotting at Berlin, confident that Charles XII. was really on his return, resolved to throw over Bassewitz, and the latter, on stopping for a few days at Königsberg, found that a box of secret and compromising papers had been stolen by his secretary, a creature of Goertz, and also that orders had been sent to the Holstein troops in Pomerania to arrest him as he passed. By riding hard he succeeded in stopping the post and in recovering his papers, and he then went straight to Berlin, where he revealed the whole affair, as well as the secret of his negotiations in Russia. Goertz hastened to Hamburg to the Administrator, to whom the King of Prussia wrote a letter refusing to allow Goertz to remain in Berlin as representative of Holstein. By some accident the Duke put the letter in his pocket without reading it, and Goertz started off the same night for Berlin, where he appeared much to the King's astonishment, who forbade his Ministers to talk to him. Then began a correspondence which made such a diplomatic scandal that the King finally ordered him to leave Berlin within ten hours and the country in twenty-four, otherwise he would be arrested. Goertz answered that he had orders from his master to go immediately to the conference at Brunswick, and departed on July 22. The scandal in the diplomatic world was still further increased when the King issued a rescript, forbidding his Cabinet Ministers to have any intercourse with Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors other than in writing or in conferences.

Dolgorúky was ordered to inform the Danish Court of the propositions and departure of Bassewitz, and to add that the Tsar expected similar treatment to be given to any unfriendly proposals. Not content with this, the Tsar wrote to the King, consenting to give him 150,000 rubles for equipping the fleet, besides stores, and promising to keep the King of Prussia from unfriendly acts. He urged him by all means to make an attack on Scania. 'The money is too little, and it is now too late,' replied the Danes, to whom both the English and the French were insinuating the dangers of allowing the Russians to become too strong on the Baltic.

Meanwhile came a new claimant to the participation of the

spoils. When Prince Kurákin went to Hanover in April, 1714, Bernstorff told him that the Elector highly approved of the intention of the Tsar to exclude Sweden from Germany, and proposed that Stettin should be permanently ceded to Prussia, Bremen and Werden to Hanover; that the Duke of Holstein should give Slesvig to Denmark, and be indemnified with other lands which would bring in an equivalent revenue; that Stralsund, when taken, should be given to Prussia; and that the fortifications of Wismar should be destroyed, and the town be handed over to the Duke of Mecklenburg. This proposition greatly pleased the Tsar, and Golófkin ordered the Russian Ministers abroad to assist in carrying it out. The death of Queen Anne (August $\frac{1}{12}$, 1714), and the accession of the Elector of Hanover to the English throne, gave the Hanoverian plan of action against the Swedes an especial signification. The negotiations in regard to it were impeded by the obstinacy of Denmark, which wished all along the indemnity to the Duke of Holstein to be put to the account of Hanover, and was unwilling to surrender Bremen and Werden to Hanover before the general peace, lest, having got them into his possession, the Elector might enter into negotiations with Sweden for their cession.

In this way the whole of the year 1714 slipped by without any military action on the part of Denmark.

There was, however, great need for prompt action, both with arms and with diplomacy, for Charles XII., on November 22, suddenly made his appearance in Stralsund. Though he had decided to leave Turkey in the early part of the year, he had been detained by a need of money, which the Sultan offered to give him, but which he refused to receive except as a loan. At last he left Demotika, on October 1, with a large suite. At Pitesti in Wallachia he waited for a few days for some money, and then continued his route with only one companion—disguised as the merchant Peter Frisch—through Hungary to Vienna, and then, making a detour to avoid the Saxons, by Regensburg, Nuremberg, Cassel, Brunswick, and Güstrow. The further he went the more impatient he became, and the journey from Pitesti was accomplished in sixteen days, for the last ten of which the King did not take off his clothes. He

was so altered by fatigue when he arrived at Stralsund that at first he was not recognised even by General Dücker, although expecting him. He soon showed that he intended to regain his old position, and to push the war vigorously. Goertz, who, through his agent Fabricius at Bender, had succeeded in convincing the King that he had acted solely with a view to Swedish interests, set out at once for Stralsund with the Duke-Administrator. They arrived on December 1, immediately demanded an audience, and, after remaining for a long time in the King's cabinet, Goertz came out Minister of Sweden and the favourite of Charles XII.

The negotiations on the subject of the arrangement with Hanover continued, and finally, in February, 1715, the Danes consented to yield Bremen and Werden to King George. Shortly after they became again troubled lest, after all, Prussia should refuse to join them and should make terms with Sweden, and thought it was therefore indispensable to send some troops to protect the Danish frontier. Dolgorúky, seeing their evident alarm, tried to reassure them as to the intentions of Prussia, and insisted upon the junction of the Danish with the Russian fleet. This the Danish Ministers opposed until the English fleet should come into the Baltic and blockade Carlscrona. Dolgorúky seems to have had better notions of the relations of Hanover to England, and felt sure that the English fleet would take no action whatever against Sweden.

Meanwhile, Count Alexander Golófkin was working in Berlin to induce Prussia to join the Northern alliance. There were great difficulties. But these difficulties gradually disappeared. Many things conspired to bring about this result. Knowing the liking of Frederick William for tall grenadiers, Peter had sent to him eighty completely-equipped Russian soldiers, who arrived early in 1714. Twelve of them were tall enough to be incorporated in the Grenadier regiment; and the King, in thanking Peter, referred to the mission of Schlippenbach, and added: 'You will remember that, when I last had the pleasure of seeing you here in Schönhausen, I said that I must have a year's time to bring my army and finances into complete order, and that before that I could not engage myself to anything. This time has now passed, and God has given me the grace to

bring my affairs into fit order, and I can now draw nearer to you.'[1] The preparations made everywhere for the return of Charles XII., the constant Swedish reinforcements sent to Pomerania, the feeling of admiration and sympathy for Charles in many of the German states, the fear of the intrigues of Goertz, the good understanding between Holstein and Sweden now plainly visible, and showing itself in acts which were claimed to release Prussia from its treaty obligations towards Holstein, induced the King to conclude with Russia a secret treaty of guarantee (July 12, 1714), by which the Tsar promised not to make peace without obtaining for Prussia Stettin and its dependencies as far as the Peene, Wolgast, Wollin, and Usedom, while Prussia agreed to assist the Tsar if he were attacked in Viborg, Reval, and Esthonia, and not to hinder his annexing other Swedish provinces.

The conduct of Charles XII. after his return did not inspire hopes of maintaining peace. He refused to recognise the sequestration, and demanded the surrender of Stettin, refusing to pay for it and implying even that the King had never spent any money. He talked about punishing not only his enemies but his false friends, and finally dislodged a small Prussian detachment from Wolgast. This incident, in spite of the efforts of the French Minister to meditate, turned the scale, and taken with the feeling which was daily growing stronger, that the prosperity of Prussia depended on expelling Sweden from Pomerania, the insistance of the Danes and the Hanoverians, and the skilful use which Golófkin made of some rumours from Vienna as to the feelings of the Emperor, finally brought King Frederick William to declare his intention of sending troops into Pomerania. Ilgen, who had been the great dissuader from war, was now so alarmed lest some conflict might arise with the Swedes before an arrangement had been made

[1] Finding his present was appreciated, Peter continued from time to time to send tall grenadiers, sometimes choosing among soldiers and sometimes from the peasantry. Up to 1724 two hundred and forty-eight men altogether were sent to Prussia. Some of them who had been separated from their wives and families became discontented, and at the Tsar's request the King allowed them to return on receiving fresh men in their places. New recruits were occasionally sent to Berlin until the reign of the Empress Elizabeth. M. Putzillo in *Russian Messenger*, No. 3, 1878 ; A. Brückner in *Russische Revue*, vii. 4, 1878.

with the allies, and the brunt of the war be put upon Prussia, that he became a partisan of the Northern alliance. Treaties with Denmark and Hanover were at last signed, and in July the Prussian, Danish, and Saxon troops, numbering in all about 60,000 men, appeared off Stralsund. Owing to the lack of material the siege was not really begun until the end of October. Meanwhile, with the assistance of the Danish ships, they occupied Usedom and Rügen. Prince Basil Dolgorúky, who was at the Danish headquarters, reported (August 3): 'The day before yesterday the Danish King reviewed the Prussian cavalry and dined with the King of Prussia, where for joy at the capture of Usedom they made mighty merry, and both Kings danced about the table, even without ladies, and did other similar things, and the Danish King smoked tobacco, although it was against his nature.' Soon there were little difficulties. The Prussians wished the aid of more Saxon troops, which King Augustus was willing to send, as he did not wish to lose his share in the division of the spoils. But the Danes, who hated the Saxons, opposed this. The Prussians yielded, and agreed to accept Russian troops instead; but there was then difficulty because King Frederick William insisted that they should be absolutely under his orders. This was refused, the question of Saxon troops again came up, and finally a separate convention was made with Denmark for the employment of fifteen battalions of Russian infantry and a thousand cavalry. As soon as the Prussians knew this they agreed to the same thing. The Russian Ministers wrote home to their Government that the Prussians accepted the Russian troops, not because they had not enough of their own, but because they wished to save their own men, and that they would have bad quarters and would not be on the whole well cared for, but that still there were many political advantages to be derived from their presence. Nevertheless the Russian troops never came. The Saxon Ministers, who needed them against the insurgents in Poland, where there was a general movement against Augustus, begged the allies not to insist on their presence in Pomerania, and they were supported in this by Prince Gregory Dolgorúky, the Russian Minister at Warsaw, who requested Sheremétief to remain in Poland. Stralsund was at last taken, in spite of the vigorous

defence of Charles XII. himself, on December 22, 1715. An attempt was made to save the place the day before its fall, by promising a peace with Prussia and Poland on advantageous terms, but the King of Prussia replied that the only terms he could consider were for the capitulation of the fortress. Charles XII. left a few hours earlier in a small boat for the Swedish coast.

The Tsar was very angry that no Russian troops were present, for great as the emergency was in Poland, he considered the events in Pomerania far more important, and wrote to Dolgorúky: 'I am very much astonished that in your old age you have lost your sense, and have allowed yourself to be fooled by constant deceivers into keeping the troops in Poland.' He wrote also to Yaguzhínsky: 'As to the tricks of Flemming, I am not astonished, for such is their plough and their sickle. But I am astonished at Prince Gregory, that in his old age he should become a fool and has allowed himself to be led by the nose.'

Though the Danes had asked for the help of Russian troops, they absolutely refused to allow their fleet to co-operate with the Russian in the Tsar's plan against the Swedish ports. The admirals told Dolgorúky that to send the fleet three miles beyond Bornholm was the same as to burn it, for that all Denmark in that case would be exposed to extreme danger. The English fleet indeed appeared in the Baltic, but not to shut up the Swedes in Carlscrona, as the Danes had expected. On the contrary, it visited Danzig, Königsberg, Riga, and Reval, in order to leave a ship or two at each place to take care of English commerce. When the Tsar, who was at Cronstadt, heard of the arrival of the English and Dutch squadrons off the Esthonian coast, and ascertained that they were coming no nearer than Reval, he went to meet them at Reval. On the anniversary of the battle of Hangö Udd he entertained the two admirals and their chief officers on the Russian ships, and subsequently both he and Catherine dined on board the English flag-ship with Admiral Norris, to whom he gave his portrait set in diamonds.

Troubles far greater than those arising from the slow progress of the war had annoyed Peter for many months past.

Apart from the dissatisfaction caused by his reforms, which was only too visible,[1] he had found as the result of a careful investigation that many of the highest officials, including some of those nearest to himself, were implicated in peculations and dishonest transactions on a very large scale. Among these were Menshikóf himself, Siniávin, the First Commissary of the Admiralty; Korsákof, the Vice-Governor of St. Petersburg; Alexander Kikin, Councillor of the Admiralty, and also a great favourite of the Tsar; the Senators Opúkhtin and Prince Volkónsky, and Prince Gagárin, the Governor-General of Siberia. Several of these were executed, others knouted or exiled, others, on account of their past services, or because where so many seemed to be venal the Tsar thought that mercy would make the pardoned criminal more devoted to him, obtained a remission of their penalty. Menshikóf got off with a heavy fine. Later on we shall examine the interesting details of this business, and the causes which produced this state of affairs.

Death, too, had been busy in Peter's family. In May, 1715, he lost his infant daughter Natalia. In November the Crown Princess Charlotte died after giving birth to a son, and some weeks later the Tsaritsa Martha Matvéievna, widow of the Tsar Theodore, ended her life. The grief of Peter for his daughter-in-law was mitigated by the birth (on November 10, 1715) of a second son—so long and constantly desired—called after his father, Peter. Mourning was suspended for three days, salutes were fired, and the houses illuminated. Every one went to Court, presented congratulations, and, according to the custom of the country, offered Catherine costly presents on her bed. Menshikóf gave the young Prince five brilliants, for which he paid in Germany eighty thousand rubles. Brandy, beer, and mead were distributed to the common people in all the streets. The foreign representatives were also admitted to present their compliments to the Tsaritsa, and after that were obliged to accompany the Tsar in boats to various palaces until midnight, when a concert of vocal and instrumental music took

[1] De Bie, the Dutch Resident, reports (January 18, 1715) that letters are frequently found in the streets, some advising the Tsar to introduce a moderate style of Government, and others denouncing plots.

place at the palace of the Princess Natalia, and the tired guests were then allowed to seek repose.

The Tsar himself wrote to various of his friends announcing the birth of the Prince. To Saltykóf, the Major of the Guard, he wrote: 'I announce to you that this night God has given me a recruit named after his father. God grant me to see him under a musket. I beg you to announce it with my compliments to the officers and soldiers. What is spent for drink write down to my account.' Little Peter was christened on November 14. A splendid dinner was given at the palace, when from a large pasty on the table where the Tsar and foreign ministers sat, a very small dwarf decorated with red ribbons suddenly jumped out and drank to the health of the newly-born Prince and of all present.[1]

[1] Soloviéf, xviii.; Golikóf; *Journal of Peter the Great;* Fryxell; Droysen; Ranke, *Genesis des preussischen Staates;* Y. Koskinen, *Finnische Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1874; G. Rein, *Finlands Historia*, Helsingfors, 1870; Weber's Despatches in Hermann's *Peter der Grosse und der Zarewitsch Alexei*, Leipzig, 1880.

LXVIII.

THE TSARÉVITCH ALEXIS.—1690—1715.

Alexis was still in his ninth year when the Tsaritsa Eudoxia was sent to the convent at Suzdal, and he was confided to his aunt Natalia. But already at the age of six he had been given a teacher, Nikifór Viázemsky, to instruct him in the elements. Viázemsky possessed a little of that theological, scholastic rhetoric of the middle ages which had found entrance into Moscow through the influence of the monks from Little Russia. He gave to Alexis that love for biblical and religious reading which distinguished him afterwards, but he was not a man of sufficiently strong character to control him. Peter, after his return from abroad, thought to send his son to Dresden under the care of the Polish General Carlovitch, to be educated together with young Henry Lefort, but the death of Carlovitch in the attack on Dünamünde, in March, 1700, put an end to this plan. Carlovitch had recommended as teacher a certain Martin Neugebauer from Danzig, who had been for some years in the Saxon service, and who had accompanied him to Russia. During the years that he had charge of the education of Alexis, Neugebauer performed his duties conscientiously enough, but with more zeal than discretion. He speedily came into conflict with the Russians, and his own hot temper and rough manners rendered it impossible for him to keep his position. He seems himself as much to blame as the Russians, whom he subsequently abused so violently in pamphlets. One instance of these quarrels is sufficiently characteristic of the times. On June 3, 1702, the Tsarévitch was dining with Neugebauer, Alexis Narýshkin, and Viázemsky. The fowl was carved by Neugebauer, and Alexis, after eating one piece helped himself again. Narýshkin told him to clear his plate and put the bones

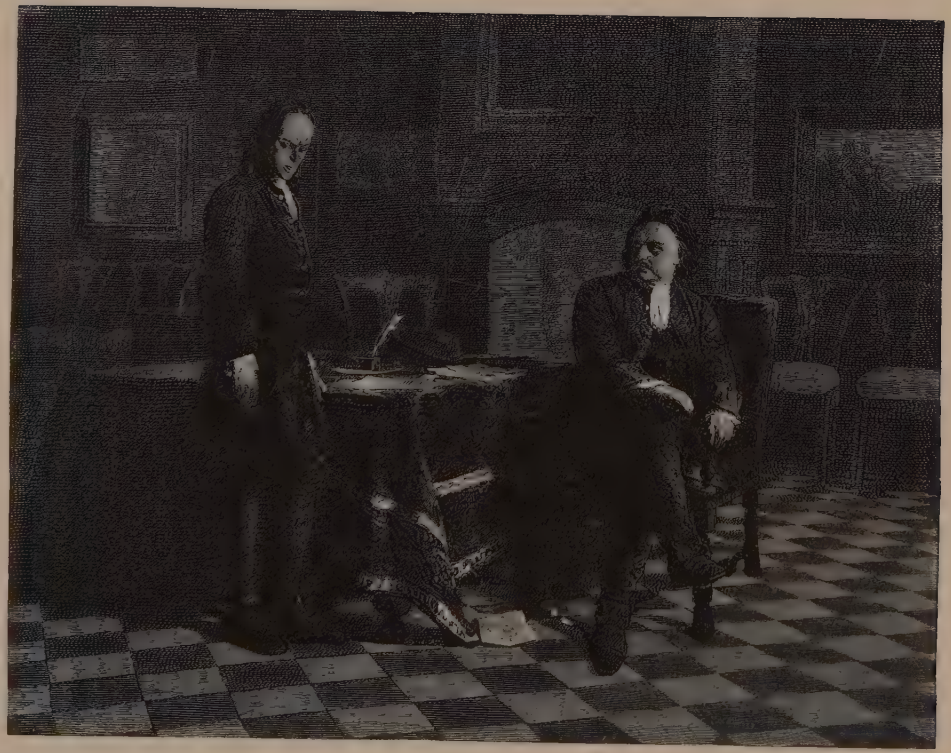
of the piece he had eaten back into the dish, on which Neugebauer remarked that this was ill-bred. Thereupon Alexis whispered something to Naryshkin, and Neugebauer said that this was also ill-bred. A dispute then arose between the two chamberlains, in which Neugebauer uttered some strong expressions against the Russians in general, and said: 'None of you understand anything. When I get abroad with the Tsarévitch, then I know what I shall do,' and threatened to demand the dismissal of his Russian colleagues, called the Russians barbarians, dogs, and pigs, and at last angrily threw down his knife and fork and went off threatening and cursing.

Neugebauer was dismissed, and, finding that he could get no place in Russia, went back to Germany, and entered the Swedish army, becoming secretary to Charles XII. He was succeeded by Huyssen, whose acquaintance we have already made, who had been brought into the Russian service by Patkul, and who had been very useful in replying to the libels of Neugebauer. Huyssen drew up a plan of education, which was approved by the Tsar, suitable for the education of the heir of a great empire, according to which Alexis was to devote much time to French, mathematics, history, and geography, as well as politics. He was to study Fénélon's 'Télémaque' and the works of Puffendorf, to read the foreign newspapers, to be informed as to the duties and history of princes, especially of absolute monarchs, and finally to wind up with a course of artillery and engineering. He was, besides this, daily to read the Bible, so that in a given time he would finish the Old Testament once, and the New Testament twice. In his hours of leisure he was to look at atlases and globes, practise with mathematical instruments, and exercise himself in fencing, dancing, and riding, as well as in different games, especially ball-playing. Under Huyssen the studies of the young prince made much progress, and his tutor seems to have been satisfied with his capabilities and his desire to learn. The reports made to the Tsar were generally favourable, and, writing to Leibnitz, Huyssen said: 'The Prince lacks neither capacity nor quickness of mind. His ambition is moderated by reason, by sound judgment, and by a great desire to distinguish himself, and to gain everything which is fitting for a great prince. He is of a stu-

dious and pliant nature, and wishes by assiduity to supply what has been neglected in his education. I notice in him a great inclination to piety, justice, uprightness, and purity of morals. He loves mathematics and foreign languages, and shows a great desire to visit foreign countries. He wishes to acquire thoroughly the French and German languages, and has already begun to receive instruction in dancing and military exercises, which give him great pleasure. The Tsar has allowed him not to be strict in the observance of the fasts, for fear of harming his health and his bodily development, but out of piety he refuses any indulgence in this respect.'

Huyssen had declined to be solely responsible for the education of Alexis, and in view of Menshikóf's position and influence had expressed his willingness to occupy the second place under him. This supervision was not always well exercised. Alexis himself in after-life complained of Menshikóf's negligence, and popular rumours spread about stories of harsh treatment and cruelty. The Austrian agent Pleyer added a ciphered postscript to one of his despatches: 'It is said that Menshikóf in the camp dragged the prince by the hair to the ground, and the Tsar said nothing to it. Therefore people say now that he has bewitched the Tsar.' This visit of Alexis to Nyenskänz in 1703, his presence at the siege of Narva the next year as a volunteer, the part which he took in the triumphs and festivities on the Tsar's return, show that there were great interruptions to the execution of the programme of study drawn up by Huyssen. A little later Alexis was entirely deprived of his teacher, for Huyssen was sent abroad on diplomatic business which seemed of the utmost importance, and did not return for three years. During all this time, at the age when a youth has most need of guidance and control, Alexis was left without a director to his studies, and exposed to bad influences, and especially to influences hostile to the reforms of the Tsar.

Peter's apparent indifference to the education of his son has often been criticised as strange and remarkable. No one was more conscious than he of the defects of his own early education; no one had striven harder to repair them; no one was more anxious that his son should be properly trained, and especially that he should become a successor capable of carrying



INTERVIEW BETWEEN PETER AND ALEXIS.

out his plans. Under these circumstances one might have supposed that the Tsar would have followed with more care every step in the education of Alexis. His indifference was indeed only apparent. The case with him was as it has been, and is, with so many fathers in similar situations. He was taken up with absorbing and engrossing pursuits. He was rarely at home. He was on the frontier engaged in a difficult war, was with his troops or with his ships. When he had provided the means of education, it seemed as if nothing remained but to give counsels—and very stern counsels too—as to the necessity of making use of these means. In the camp at Narva in 1704, Peter, after telling Alexis that he had brought him there to let him take part in the campaign and to show him that he spared himself no trouble or danger, and that he wished him to follow his example, added: 'But if my advice be borne away by the winds, and you do not wish to do what I desire, I will not recognise you for my son, and I shall pray God to punish you in this life and in the life to come.' These threats were not at that time to be taken at all literally. They were such as a father, with a strong sense of duty, and a strong desire for the success of his children, sometimes makes to a son whose character he has never taken the right way of understanding. There is many a father whose excellent qualities make him respected and appreciated by his friends, and by all who meet him on equal terms, who has the sincerest desire for the welfare of his children, but who, through the absorbing occupations of his own life or by misplaced sternness, has never succeeded in making himself beloved by his children.

During the absence of Huyssen the studies of Alexis continued after a fashion, although with many interruptions, and Viázemsky gave the Tsar favourable accounts of the boy's occupations.

Alexis lived much like a private person at Preobrazhénsky, with an income of 12,000 rubles, which more than sufficed for all his needs. The foreigners in Moscow seemed to think that his education was purposely neglected by Menshikóf, and Alexis, in his complaints to the Austrian Court, when he felt it necessary to apologise for himself, says the same thing.

In Moscow Alexis was thrown much into the company of those who preferred the old order of things, and hated the innovations of the Tsar. The dislike to reforms and novelties was as strong among the upper classes, and even in the palace itself, as among the common people. The administrators of the old school were given work such as they had never before had to do, and the frequent orders and reprimands of the Tsar showed that he had no intention that their duties should be neglected. There were step-sisters of Peter still living who in secret sympathised with Sophia, who died in 1704, and with Martha, who died only in 1707, in her convent cell at Alexándrovo. There were brothers of the repudiated Eudoxia; there were the great-uncles of Alexis, the Naryshkins, who confirmed him in his distaste to carrying out the commands of his father. But most of all Alexis associated with the clergy, and his confessor, Jacob Ignátief, had as much influence of a similar kind as Nikon had at one time upon the Tsar Alexis. In many respects the character of the Tsarévitch was like that of his grandfather. He loved quiet, was pious by nature, devoted to the reading of religious books and the study of religious questions. Together with Ignátief, with some other priests and monks, with Kolytchóf, the husband of his nurse, with Viázemsky and the Naryshkins, he formed an intimate circle of friends—a 'company'—like that of Peter's youth, with very different ideas, but with the same habits of drinking and carousing. The 'company' was almost a secret society. Each member had a nickname, such as Satan, Hell, Benefactor, Moloch, The Cow, Judas, The Dove, and a cipher was used for secret correspondence.

It cannot therefore be wondered at that the impression was made upon the common people that the Tsarévitch was opposed to his father, and that he was looked upon by them as the only hope in the future. Ignátief came from Suzdal, and Alexis was therefore the more easily brought into communication with his mother, then in a convent at Suzdal. In 1706 he was taken to visit her. The Tsar received information of this journey from his sister Natalia, and immediately sent for Alexis to come to Zolkiew, where he reprimanded him sharply. After this Alexis was detained for several months in Smolensk, where he was

charged by his father with the collection and provisioning of the troops. He returned to Moscow in the autumn of 1707, and found new duties imposed upon him in the defence of the city against a possible attack by the Swedes. To his work here, and the fault which his father found with his inaction, we have already made reference.[1] Peter's wrath was appeased when he came to know more exactly what had been done, and a good understanding was restored. Alexis returned for a while to his studies, but in the beginning of 1709 he abandoned them again to conduct a party of 5,000 recruits to the Ukraine, where he had a dangerous fit of illness.

After the battle of Poltáva it was resolved that Alexis should go to Dresden for his further education. Although the Tsar reached this decision in October, 1709, yet the money and the orders were so slow in coming that Alexis was detained all the winter in Cracow, and could not begin his journey until the spring of 1710. Soon after arriving in Dresden he went on to Carlsbad, and in the neighbouring little town of Schlackenwerth he met for the first time the Princess Charlotte of Wolfenbüttel, whom it had been arranged that he should marry.

Negotiations for this marriage had been going on for some years through the medium of Urbich and Huyssen on one side, and of Leibnitz and Schleinitz on the other. The House of Brunswick, one branch of which sat on the throne of Hanover, was connected with most of the reigning families of Europe. The Princess Charlotte, granddaughter of the reigning Duke Anton Ulrich,[2] was sister of the wife of the Austrian Archduke Charles, then a claimant to the Spanish throne, and later Emperor. She was being educated at the Saxon court by her aunt the Queen of Poland, and was pretty, amiable, and accomplished. Although negotiations had been actively carried on, yet Alexis had never been told by his father what he was expected to do. He knew well enough that he was to marry a foreigner, and he

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[1] See page 86.

[2] Anton Ulrich was then about seventy-six, a lively old man who was in frequent correspondence with Leibnitz, and extracted amusement from life by writing an unending novel, *Octavia*, in which he inserted all the amusing things that came under his notice. He became a Catholic in 1710, hoping to get the secularised bishopric of Hildesheim.

had hints from others of the person destined for him. Peter wished him to make the marriage from inclination, without seeming to be forced to it.

The interview at Schlackenwerth passed off pleasantly, and both Alexis and Charlotte seemed to be favourably impressed with each other. In a letter written soon after this to his confessor Alexis tells of the circumstances, and says that his father had written to him to know how she pleases him. 'So now I know that he wishes to marry me not to a Russian but to one of these people, according to my choice. I wrote to him that if it is his will that I should marry a foreigner, I will marry this princess, whom I have seen and who pleases me, and who is a good fellow, and better than whom I cannot find. I beg you to pray for me if it is the will of God that this be accomplished; if not, that it may be hindered, for my hope is in Him. What He wishes will happen. Write to me how your heart feels about this matter.' We have not the confessor's reply, but we know from a letter of the Duke to Urbich in August, 1710, that persons who enjoyed the confidence of the Tsarévitch tried to hinder the marriage from religious scruples, and there was an opinion that Alexis was more amiable than he should be towards the Princess Fürstenburg and the Princess Weissenfels, in the hope of gaining time. There were intrigues, too, on the part of other princesses to make what seemed so good a match. All fears, however, were dissipated when in the autumn Alexis went twice to Torgau and at last formally demanded the hand of the Princess from the Queen of Poland. The marriage was deferred, and Alexis went back to his studies and his lonely life at Dresden. The studies made progress. Alexis developed an aptitude for drawing, took dancing and fencing lessons, studied French and German, and devoted much time to his favourite books on Church history. Then and afterwards he read the 'Annals of Baronius,' and made copious extracts and notes, especially on points relating to disputes between Church and State, and to the interference of kings and princes in ecclesiastical matters. He bought many books, and collected engravings and medals. He was greatly troubled that he had no priest with him, and wrote to Ignátief to find one 'capable of keeping a secret. He must be young, unmarried, and unknown to every one. Tell him to come to me

in great secresy, to lay aside all marks of his condition, to shave his beard and his hair, and to wear a wig and German clothes. He should come as a courier, and for that should be able to write. Let him not bring anything incumbent on a priest, or a missal, only a few bits of communion bread. I have all the books necessary. Have pity on my soul, and do not let me die without confession. He is necessary to me for nothing else except in case of death, and even when I am well for secret confession. I shall tell no one that he is a priest. He will appear to be one of my servants. Do not let him have any doubt about shaving his beard. It is better to commit a small sin than to ruin my soul without repentance.' Another letter from Wolfenbüttel, where Alexis had gone to make the acquaintance of the relations of his bride, showed that he had not forgotten his Muscovite habits. 'Most honourable father, salutation to you with the "Pater" and the "children." We inform your Holiness that here on this day of the holy martyr Eustace, after the spiritual festivities (vespers, complines, matins, and liturgy), we have rejoiced both spiritually and bodily, and drunk to your health. I wish you very long life, that we should see each other in joy in a short time. On this letter wine has been poured out, so that after receiving it you may live well and drink strongly and remember us. God grant our desires to meet soon. All the orthodox Christians here have signed this, Alexis the sinner, the priest John Slonsky, and have certified it with cups and glasses. We have kept this festival for your health not in German wise, but in Russian style.' After one or two rhyming paragraphs is a postscript begging pardon if the letter is illegible, because it was written when they were all drunk.

One subject of anxiety to Alexis and his friends was the religion of his future wife. All hoped that in time she would join the orthodox Church, but Alexis thought it best not to broach the subject prematurely, hoping that when she reached Russia, and saw the splendour of the Russian churches, and the magnificence of the service, and heard the solemn chant without an organ, she would come to the true faith. Lutherans in Germany meanwhile were congratulating themselves that this marriage would result in the spread of Protestant opinions in Russia.

After the campaign on the Pruth, Peter, as we remember, hastened to Carlsbad, and after his cure went to Torgau, where, on October 25, 1711, the marriage of Alexis and Charlotte was celebrated in the castle of the Queen of Poland.[1] Immediately after the marriage the Tsar replied to a request from the Duke to allow them to pass the winter at Wolfenbüttel, that, much as he would like his son to remain longer abroad for his general education, his services were necessary in the war, and four days after the ceremony Alexis was ordered to go to Thorn and see to the forwarding of provisions for the Russian troops in Pomerania. A little respite was given, for he was allowed to visit Wolfenbüttel with his bride. He then set out alone, while his wife remained until December. The winter passed in Thorn very uncomfortably. All that region is desolate and sad, especially in winter. Charlotte wrote to her mother that the town was much ruined. 'The houses opposite are half burned and empty. I myself live in a monastery. However, several Polish ladies from the neighbourhood have already visited me. There is not in these regions a single small village where there are not two or three noble families. They live there, winter and summer, and for that reason even in the largest towns it is impossible to find a single person of quality.' In spite of rumours to the contrary, Alexis was all devotion, and Charlotte, who was very impressionable, expressed herself as most happy. The disorder of the little court—for Schleinitz, its head, was on duty as minister at Hanover—and the want of money—for many weeks passed without remittances—caused dissatisfaction and discomfort. Menshikóf, when he came in April, was surprised, and wrote a pressing demand for money. With the spring Alexis was obliged to go to the army in Pomerania, while the Crown Princess had to move to Elbing, where disputes about the promotion of the young cavalier Von Pöllnitz and rumours of undue intimacy with him embittered her life. She received consolation from the frequent and regular letters of her husband, as well as from a visit of the Tsar and Catherine, both of whom were most kind. She adds, in writing to her mother, that her joy was diminished by seeing how

[1] See page 216.

little the Tsar loved the Tsarévitch, and she begged Catherine to interfere in her husband's behalf. In October the Crown Princess received orders from the Tsar to go to St. Petersburg. From all that she had heard and from much that she had seen she feared the Russians, and disliked to go alone to St. Petersburg. Then, too, certain things which had been said to her threw her into despair. She imagined that her husband had never loved her, and that Catherine hated her. In this frame of mind, instead of going to Russia she made a visit to her family at Wolfenbüttel, so that when Alexis passed through Elbing he did not find her.[1] It was not until the spring of 1713 that she arrived in St. Petersburg; but her husband was then with the Tsar on an expedition in Finland, and did not return until late in the summer. The meeting of husband and wife after this absence of over a year was cordial and affectionate, and at first everything went well. Soon there came difficulties—a coolness with Catherine and with the Tsar's sister Natalia, troubles on account of the bad composition of the little court, and especially from want of money. Although Alexis was a good manager, yet he had not income enough to keep his household in the state in which he needed to live. To this we must add his love of strong drink, his carouses with his friends, and his frequent fits of drunkenness, in which he not only treated his wife brutally, but spoke of her in terms of contempt to his servants, threatening, among other things, to be revenged on Golófkin, who had given him this German wife, and promising some day to set the heads of the Chancellor's sons on stakes. Alexis sometimes remembered such scenes the next morning, and then tried to purchase the silence of his attendants, and atone for his conduct towards his wife by more than usual tenderness. Every such scene widened the breach. The health of Alexis failed, his physicians thought that he had consumption, and that his condition was a serious one; and they advised him to go to Carlsbad. His wife was the last to know of his resolution, and it was only when everything was ready, and he was about to take his seat in the carriage, that he bade her good-bye, with 'Adieu! I am going to Carlsbad.' This was on June 15,

[1] See page 236.

1714. There were indeed reasons for the reticence, because the country through which he had to pass was not without danger, and he wished to keep his departure a secret from the foreign ministers. He travelled in the guise of a simple officer. But the coldness and indifference affected Charlotte, and during the six months of his absence he never wrote her a word. On July 23 she gave birth to a daughter, Natalia, but Alexis did not seem to trouble himself about the matter. In November Charlotte wrote: 'The Tsarévitch has not yet come back. No one knows where he is, whether he is alive or dead. I am in frightful uneasiness. All the letters that I have written to him in the last six or eight weeks have been sent back to me from Dresden and Berlin, because no one there knows where he is.' At the end of December Alexis returned to St. Petersburg. At first his conduct was exemplary. He was affectionate to his wife, and was delighted with his little daughter. A little later Charlotte wrote to her family that he conducted himself as before, with the only difference that she saw him less frequently. He had fallen in love with Afrosinia, a Finnish girl, a serf of his teacher Viázemsky, brought her to his house, and continued in relations with her during the rest of his life. Foreigners noticed that in society Alexis never spoke to his wife, and said that he scarcely saw her once a week. The small house, dignified by the name of palace, was in such bad repair that the rain came through the roof into the room of the Crown Princess, and when the Tsar spoke about it Alexis scolded his wife for having maligned him to his father. His inclination to drunkenness increased to such an extent as greatly to affect his health. In April, 1715, he was taken senseless out of church, and was so ill that they did not dare to bring him home across the Neva, and he had to pass the night in the house of a foreigner. Even on the next day he was still so weak that the Crown Princess went to him, and passed half the day there. 'I ascribe his illness,' she said, 'to the fast and to the great quantity of brandy which he drinks daily, for he is usually drunk.' Nevertheless there were occasional glimpses of happiness—Alexis was fond of his child, and every mark of love soothed the heart of the mother. On October 23, 1715, a son was born, who subsequently became the Emperor Peter II.

Four days afterwards the state of the mother took a turn for the worse, a fever set in, and towards midnight on November 1 she died. Alexis had not left her bedside during the last days, had fainted three times, and seemed inconsolable at her death. He took the children in his arms and carried them to his own room.

The day after the funeral Catherine gave birth to a boy. The long smouldering conflict between father and son now broke forth.

The opposition between Peter and his son was passive, was an opposition of character rather than of action. Peter was active, curious, and energetic. Alexis was contemplative and reflective. He was not without intellectual ability, but he liked a quiet life. He preferred reading and thinking. At the age when Peter was making fireworks, building boats, and exercising his comrades in mimic war, Alexis was pondering over the 'Divine Manna,' reading the 'Wonders of God,' reflecting on Thomas à Kempis's 'Imitation of Christ,' and making excerpts from Baronius. While it sometimes seemed as if Peter was born too soon for the age, Alexis was born too late. He belonged to the past generation. Not only did he take no interest in the work and plans of his father, but he gradually came to dislike and hate them. On his return from Germany in 1713 he had to pass a sort of examination before his father, and, in order to avoid showing how he had neglected his drawing, he tried to shoot himself through the hand with a pistol, but succeeded only in burning himself with the powder. This was sufficient to excuse him. He would sometimes even take medicine to make himself ill, so that he might not be called upon to perform unpleasant duties or attend to business. Once, when he was obliged to go to the launch of a ship, he said to a friend, 'I would rather be a galley slave, or have a burning fever, than be obliged to go there.' In conversation with his friend Kikin he expressed himself thus, 'I am no stupid fool, but I cannot, cannot work.' This disposition was quickly noticed by all who came into contact with him, and his mother-in-law, the Princess of Wolfenbüttel, said to Tolstói that it was 'quite useless for his father to force him to attend to military matters, as he would rather have a rosary than a pistol in his hand.'

With this opposition of temperament and character, with the lack of tenderness which Peter had always shown in his relations to his son, with the great fear which he inspired in him, it was not unnatural that Alexis always felt uncomfortable when he was with his father, hated to hear of his coming, and was glad to be away from him. Once he admitted to his confessor that he had frequently wished his father's death, and Ignátief replied: 'God will forgive you. We all wish for his death, because the people have to bear such heavy burdens.'

All who were discontented with the existing state of things naturally turned their eyes towards Alexis, and, without assuming such a position, he became the nucleus of the opposition to reform. During Lent, in 1712, Stephen Yavórsky preached a sermon in the cathedral at Moscow in which there were pointed references to the Tsarévitch, and allusions to those disturbers who continued the war when the country had so much need of peace and of relief from its burdens, and ended with a prayer to St. Alexis to protect his namesake, who, like him, had left his house and was wandering in strange lands, separated from his parents. This sermon created a great sensation, and was much commented on. Yavórsky, with his usual tact, succeeded in explaining it away to the Tsar, but years afterwards allusions were made to it as well as to Yavórsky's feelings in the circles of the discontented. Among the nobility, and even among those distinguished by the Tsar, many showed privately their sympathy with Alexis. Prince Jacob Dolgorúky, the senator, said, 'Do not visit me, for they watch me to see who comes.' And General Basil Dolgorúky once said to him, 'You are wiser than your father. Your father is wise, but he has no knowledge of men. You will have more knowledge of men.' This was an evident expression of the hope that when Alexis came to the throne the old families would be once more favoured, and upstarts like Menshikóf and Golófkin would no longer hold the first places in the empire. The Golítsyns were his friends, and even Field Marshal Boris Sheremétief advised him to have some one always near the Tsar who could be intimate with his friends and inform him of what was going on. Prince Boris Kurákin, the diplomatist, asked Alexis in Pomerania whether his step-mother treated him well, and,

when Alexis said that their relations were most cordial, added, 'As long as she has no son she will be good to you, but as soon as she has a son it will be quite otherwise.' Simeon Naryshkin once complained that the Tsar never seemed to be able to understand that the nobles had enough to do at home with the management of their property. Alexis, who was not a bad manager, and who loved to busy himself about household matters, replied, 'He has everywhere ready for him all that he wants, and therefore he does not understand what we need.'

Although Alexis was in thorough sympathy with the discontented, and showed them plainly that if he ever came to the throne things would not go on as then, that no active policy would be pursued, and that in all probability St. Petersburg would be abandoned, yet there was no conspiracy, no attempt to thwart the plans of the Tsar. The policy of all was to wait, and to hope for Peter's death. The Tsar's health had been so shaken for some years that it seemed as if this might occur soon. Alexis and his friends lived in dread of danger, and when he was abroad he hesitated for a while to return to Russia. Some of his confidential friends had suggested that he should stay abroad and wait for his father's death, and the asylum accorded by Louis XIV. to the Stuarts inspired the thought that the Tsarévitch would be sure of protection at the French court. Kikin openly advised this, and other friends counselled him against returning. On returning from Carlsbad, Alexis, in a moment of expansion, expressed to those who were with him his fears that on his return he would be made a monk, and not only during his father's lifetime alone, but that, like Basil Shúisky, he would be sent somewhere into captivity and end his days in prison.

On the day of the funeral of the Crown Princess Charlotte, on November 7, 1715, when the mourners, according to the customs of the country, had assembled again in the house of the Tsarévitch, Peter handed his son a letter dated October 22. It was written in strong and decisive terms, and contained an ultimatum. After speaking of the Swedish war, and how affairs had taken such a turn that the Swedes now trembled before the Russians, the Tsar continued, 'When I consider this joy come

of God to our fatherland, and look then on the line of my successors, a deep grief comes over me, because I consider you unfit to carry on the business of the Government. God is not at fault, for he has not deprived you of a sound mind, nor taken entirely away from you bodily strength, for although you are not of a strong nature still you are not very weak. But you do not wish to hear anything about military affairs, although by this we have come from darkness into light, and those who knew nothing of us before respect us now. I do not demand that you should be desirous of making war without lawful reason, but I expect you to appreciate military affairs and learn all that is most necessary in them, for this is one of the two necessary things for government, order, and defence. . . . . You have no desire at all to learn anything. You know nothing of military affairs. . . . . You excuse yourself by saying that your weak health prevents you from taking part in the fatigues of a campaign. But this is no reason. I do not wish bodily fatigue from you, but only the desire for the thing, and this can be weakened by no illness.' Then making a comparison with his own brother Theodore and Louis XIV., who himself took no part in campaigns, he continues: 'When I represent to myself all this and turn again to my first thought, I must say to myself, I am a man, I can die. To whom then shall I leave that which I have, by God's help, planted and increased? To him who is like the idle servant in the gospel, that buried his talent in the ground? I think, besides, what a bad and obstinate character you have. How much have I scolded you for it, and not merely scolded but beaten you for it! How many years have I not spoken with you! Nothing has been of help; nothing has borne fruit; it has all been in vain; my words have been carried off by the wind. You wish to do nothing except to sit at home and to delight yourself if everything goes wrong. . . . . Seeing, therefore, that I can turn you to nothing good, I have thought best to write you this last testament, and still wait a little to see whether in truth and without hypocrisy you change. If not, then know that I deprive you of your right to the throne, and cut you off like a blasted limb. And do not think that you are my only son, and that I write this only to frighten you. In very truth, by the will of God I will fulfil it;

for as I have not spared my life for my country and my subjects, how can I spare you who are unfit? Better a deserving stranger than an unworthy son.'

Alexis turned to his friends for counsel. Kikin said: 'You will at last have rest, if you cut yourself free from everything. I know that otherwise, with your weakness, you cannot hold out. But it is a pity that you did not stay away when it was time. Now it is too late.' Viázemsky remarked, 'It is God's will, and the will of the Crown, if you now have rest.' Alexis asked Count Theodor Apráxin and Prince Basil Dolgorúky to use their influence with the Tsar to allow him to resign his rights to the throne and pass the rest of his days in peace on his estates. Apráxin promised to do this, and Dolgorúky added: 'Give a thousand letters, if you like, something will still happen.' The time and place chosen by the Tsar for delivering his letter seems strange, but he had been ill ever since its date.

When the next day Alexis heard of the birth of his stepbrother, he was much cast down, but he gradually came to a resolution, and three days afterwards wrote to his father, saying that if it was his will to cut him off from the succession he begged him to do so. 'I see myself unsuitable and unfit for this business, for I am quite devoid of memory, without which it is impossible to do anything, am weak and do not possess all my intellectual and bodily powers, and have become unsuited to the government of such a people, for which it is necessary to have a man not so rotten as I. Therefore to the Russian succession after you (God give you health for many years) I lay no claim, and in future shall make no claim (even if I had no brother, and now, thank God, I have a brother, to whom may God give health). I confide my children to your will, and as for myself beg for support until my death.' After receiving this letter Peter had a conversation with Prince Basil Dolgorúky, on which the latter came to the Tsarévitch, read carefully through the Tsar's letter of October 22, and said: 'I have had a word with your father. I think he will cut you off from the succession. It appears that he is content with your letter. I have saved you from the scaffold. You can now rejoice, and need trouble yourself about nothing more.' The expression of Dolgorúky about the scaffold shows with what excitement the Tsar had spoken

about his son. There seems, however, no reason to believe that Peter was at any time satisfied with what Alexis had written. In the state of things at that time in Russia, renunciation of the succession was scarcely sufficient. It was necessary to determine on something beyond this, and at this step Peter hesitated.

For a whole month the Tsar kept silent, then, after a drinking bout at Apráxin's, he became so dangerously ill that during two nights the senators and ministers remained in the palace. On December 13 he was so weak that the last sacrament was administered to him; but after this the attack passed, he began to mend, and three weeks later, at the Russian Christmas time, was able to go to church, looking better than had been expected, but pale and shrunken. During this time Kikin warned Alexis to be cautious, maintaining that the Tsar was feigning illness to see how he would behave, and had received the sacrament for the sole purpose of creating a belief that his end was near.

On January 30, 1716, Alexis received a second and still more threatening letter from his father. The Tsar found fault with him for mentioning the question of succession and his physical weakness only, while silent with regard to his father's anger and discontent.[1]

'This leads me to write more decidedly, for if you do not fear me now, how will you follow my testament? I cannot believe your oath on account of your hardness of heart. David has already said that all men are liars, so that if you really wished to keep it you could be dissuaded by the longbeards, who on account of their laziness are not now in favour, but to whom you are greatly devoted. And what gratitude have you shown to your father? Do you help me in my sorrows and troubles, so hard to be borne, although you have already reached ripe age? No, not in the least. It is known to every one that you hate my deeds, which I do for the people of this nation, not sparing my health, and after my death you will destroy them. For that reason, to stay as you would like to be, neither fish nor flesh, is impossible. Therefore, either change your character, and without hypocrisy be my worthy successor, or be-

[1] Peter's excitement is evident, for he overlooked the fact that Alexis in his letter had expressly mentioned his intellectual disqualifications.

come a monk, for without this my soul will not be at peace, especially that I am now so ill. Therefore on receiving this give me immediately an answer, either in writing or in words, and if you do not do this I will treat you as a criminal.'

We can see how Peter's anger rose as he wrote, until it boiled over in the word 'criminal.' A simple renunciation was insufficient, and even before finishing the letter the Tsar seemed to question with himself whether even the garb of a monk would destroy the possibility of Alexis coming to the throne, and whether even with that his soul would be at peace.

The friends of Alexis advised him to become a monk. Kikin, who had before counselled this, now said: 'A monk's cowl is not nailed on a man. It can be laid aside again.' Viázemsky urged him to send first for a confessor and say to him that the step he took was compulsory, so that he could inform the metropolitan of Riazán, and it should not be thought that he had been put into a monastery as a punishment for some fault. This advice he followed, and in three lines wrote to his father, excusing himself for not writing more explicitly on account of illness, but saying that he wished to go into a monastery, and begging his permission for this step, signing himself 'Your slave and unworthy son, Alexis.'

Two days before Peter's departure for Danzig and the west, he visited his son, whom he found ill in bed, and asked him what he was resolved to do. Alexis called God to witness that he wished nothing else than to go into a monastery. Peter replied: 'That is not easy for a young man. Think a little about it. Do not hurry. Then write to me what you wish to do. You had better turn about to the straight road rather than become a monk. I will wait for half a year.' Peter could hardly have expected any important change in his son, but it was hard for him to come to a decision. The willingness of Alexis to comply with his demands disarmed him, and at the same time made him uneasy. This respite gave Alexis heart. He postponed the matter indefinitely, for he was not desirous to go into a cloister, and still less to marry again. It seems that in this conversation which Peter had with his son there was some question of another marriage with a foreign princess—a marriage which caused some discussion in diplomatic circles, and which

is mentioned also in a letter of Leibnitz. His affection for Afrosinia gained upon him, and he began to think of flight, and of concealing himself somewhere abroad until the death of his father. Shortly after the Tsar's departure, his step-sister, the Princess Maria Alexéievna, went to Carlsbad, and Kikin, who belonged to her court, in bidding good-bye to Alexis, said, 'Wait, I will find a refuge for you.' Kikin is said further to have informed Alexis that it was the design of his father not to put him into a monastery, because there he might live a long time, but to wear him out by the fatigues of long journeys and hard work. On June 29, 1716, the Princess Natalia died. Although Alexis's confidants told him that all his misfortunes had come from her, yet it is said that the princess on her death-bed called for her nephew and said to him: 'As long as I lived I have kept my brother from carrying out hostile designs against you. But now I am dying, and it is time for you yourself to think about your safety. The best thing would be that on the first opportunity you should put yourself under the protection of the Emperor.' A speedy decision of some kind was indeed necessary. The half-year given for consideration had expired, and in October Alexis received a letter from his father, then at Copenhagen, asking for his decision, demanding either that he should tell the name of the monastery which he desired to enter, and the time when he would take the vows, or, if he had chosen to comply with his father's desires, that a week after the receipt of the letter he should start for the seat of war and take part in the military operations—in any case to send a reply by the same courier, 'for I see that you only pass your time in your usual idleness.' Alexis had during these months written to his father, but had said nothing of his plans. The letters contained statements about his health, and that of the other members of his family, such as those to which persons unaccustomed to letter-writing are apt to confine themselves when they feel it their duty to send the regular monthly letter.[1]

[1] Ustriálof, vi.; Soloviéf, xvii.; Yesipóf and Pogódin, *Collection of Documents in the Affair of the Tsarevitch Alexis*, (Russian) Moscow, 1861; A. Brückner, *Der Zarewitsch Alexei*, Heidelberg, 1880; W. Guerrier, *Die Kronprinzessin Charlotte*, Bonn, 1875; E. Herrmann, *Peter der Grosse und der Zarewitsch Alexei*, Leipzig, 1880.

LXIX.

TWO YEARS OF TRAVEL.—1716-1717.

The state of Peter's health during the whole of the last year, aggravated as it had been by his administrative difficulties and his troubles with his son, had caused apprehension, and his attack of illness in December was so serious, that a careful diagnosis of his state was taken by one of his physicians to Germany and Holland for the purpose of consultation. It was decided that as early in the spring as the weather permitted, he should go to the waters at Pyrmont, for Carlsbad was thought to be too powerful. The journey thus taken for health was prolonged beyond all anticipations. Pleasure and politics, especially the latter, had their share of Peter's time, whose person and character had by this time become well known at the courts of Northern Germany. Popular curiosity was still awake about him, but the prejudices against him were disappearing, and many absurd stories about his manners and habits were seen to be without foundation. It is impossible, however, at times not to compare Peter's first great journey, when he travelled as a learner, with this progress of a successful and victorious monarch.

It was early in February when Peter started, and with his delays on the road it was March before he arrived at Danzig, where he expected to make a short stay. He was accompanied by his niece, Catherine, the daughter of the Tsar Ivan, whom he was about to marry to the Duke of Mecklenburg, as well as by his wife, for in the present state of his health she did not think it wise to remain at home, even to care for the little Tsarévitch, who was so precious to them. The children were left under the charge of the Tsaritsa Prascovia, the widow of the Tsar Ivan, who wrote to her sister-in-law, by every post, affec-

tionate but brief and formal letters, giving accounts of the health of the children, and always begging her to continue to be good to Katushka (the Princess Catherine).

Danzig was a commercial town, and, although in Poland, carried on an extensive contraband trade with Sweden. It had taken the side of Stanislas, and, even after making its peace in 1709, had renewed its relations with Sweden, for which Menshikóf, in 1713, had fined it 300,000 guldens. The presence of the Tsar could not, therefore, be very agreeable to the municipal authorities, especially as one of his earliest acts was to demand the discontinuance of this contraband traffic, and to impose heavy penalties and contributions. As four Swedish ships were found in the harbour, a fleet of forty Russian galleys stationed itself at the mouth of the Vistula, with orders to search all ships and seize any that came from Sweden or carried Swedish merchandise. The ultimatum of the Tsar, which he wrote out with his own hand, demanded that commercial relations be broken off with Sweden, that the town should furnish and keep up four cruisers with twelve guns each, or pay 200,000 crowns to purchase ships, afterwards provisioning them and paying the sailors; and the authorities refusing to consent to this, Danzig was formally proclaimed by the Russians to be a hostile town. Peter was willing to take as part payment, or even to buy at a high price, the celebrated picture of 'The Last Judgment,' in the Marienkirche, believing a tradition that it had been painted by St. Methodius, the missionary to the Slavs. This precious picture the authorities at Danzig would for no money consent to give up; and when the Tsar was assured by Tatístchef that the legend was false, he desisted from his demand.[1] The town finally, by a formal act of submission (May 2), yielded to the ultimatum; but as soon as the Russians withdrew, its conduct again became equivocal. After the Tsar had ordered Dolgorúky, the General in command, to take decisive measures, the town becoming frightened sent an envoy to him at Amsterdam, and then signed a convention (September 30,

[1] The picture, which is a remarkably fine one by Memling (long ascribed to Van Eyck), while on its way from Bruges to the Pope had been captured by a Danzig pirate, who presented it to the church. In 1807 Napoleon sent it to Paris, where it remained till 1816.

1717), giving three armed frigates and paying 140,000 specie thalers in return for a confirmation of its privileges.

One reason of the Tsar's stay in Danzig was to have a personal interview with King Augustus. For four years, indeed ever since the return of Augustus to Poland, there had been constant disputes on account of the presence of Saxon troops, which the King refused to withdraw from the country. The confederation of Sendomir was formed for the purpose of counteracting the King, and a great part of Poland and the whole of Lithuania were in sympathy with it. It was this which had made Dolgorúky insist on the Russian troops remaining, by which they did not get to the siege of Stralsund. At last the Russians had succeeded in getting both sides to accept their mediation. Augustus, who had delayed in Saxony when his interests had long since demanded his presence in Poland, had already started for Warsaw, but now turned aside to Danzig. The confederates also sent delegates to confer on the terms of the mediation. The Russians had not only Prince Gregory Dolgorúky, the experienced Ambassador, at Warsaw, but Golófkin, Shafírof, and Tolstói—in fact, the whole of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There were long conferences, at which the Russians presented a 'Memorial of Griefs' against the Poles for negotiations with France, for intrigues at Constantinople, for the arrangements between Flemming and Stenbock, and for other acts which had alienated the allies, to which the Poles replied with various justificative reasons. As far as concerned the settlement of the actual difficulties, it was agreed that a congress should meet at Yaroslávl, at which Prince Gregory Dolgorúky should represent the Russians as mediators, and that an arrangement should be come to on the basis of the withdrawal of the Saxon troops (except the King's personal guard of 1,200 men), and the reduction of taxes and contributions. The congress indeed met during the summer at Lublin, and with great difficulty signed such an arrangement, but the state of the country after that was about as bad as before.

Besides completing and sending to St. Petersburg the new army regulations, Peter found time to visit the curiosities of the town and neighbourhood, to purchase a collection of curiosities of Dr. Gottwald, and to dine and sup with the Polish lords.

It is said that he arrived at Danzig on a Sunday, at the very hour when they were about to close the gates as usual during the church service, and that he immediately went to the church. During the sermon, feeling a draught, he took the wig from the head of the Burgomaster, next to whom he was sitting, put it on his own, and then returned it with thanks at the end of the service. It was explained that he had the habit of thus helping himself to his neighbour's wigs. Generally Peter wore no wig, but sometimes in cold weather, or when on a journey, he wore a small peruke made of the hair of his wife. There must have been a little sentiment in this, for Menshikóf showed Weber a wig he had made of the Tsar's hair, which had been given him as a present.

During the stay of the Tsar at Danzig, the marriage was celebrated between the Tsarévna Catherine Ivánovna and the Duke of Mecklenburg, Carl Leopold, whom Herrmann calls 'one of the most notorious little despots that only the decay of the German constitution at that time had allowed to grow up.'[1] Carl Leopold, on the death of his brother in 1713, had inherited not only the Crown of Mecklenburg but a dispute with the nobles, which went from bad to worse, until the Empire had to interfere. At this time the dispute was at its height, and Carl Leopold was looking in all directions to find support. With Swedish predilections, he had during the war been ready to support the Swedes in case of necessity, but after the capture of Stralsund, he had been awed into submission by the King of Denmark, who kept him for some time in his camp. Subsequently, when the King of Denmark came to Rostock, the Duke, who was at his prayers, did not go to meet him, until finally his Marshal, Baron Eichholtz,[2] lost patience and cried out '*Potts hundert Sacrament*, there is no more time for *Kyrie Eleison*, the King is at the gate.' The Duke, without saying a word jumped up, but instead of going to meet the King, took refuge in his hunting-lodge, and did not come back until the King had gone. He had separated from his first wife, the Princess

[1] E. Herrmann, *Peter der Grosse und der Zarewitsch Alexei*, p. 8.

[2] We owe the details of this marriage to Baron Eichholtz, whose manuscript is preserved in the library at Rostock. A translation was published in the *Russian Antiquity* (*Rússkaya Staryná*) for 1875.

Sophia Hedwiga of Nassau Friesland, but she was still contesting the legality of the divorce, and thinking to get the Emperor on his side he had proposed to become a Catholic, and had at the same time asked for the hand of the Austrian Archduchess Magdalena. A Catholic prelate was sent to argue with him, but after many long conferences left in disgust, as the Duke was too confused between temporal and spiritual matters. The Austrians had promised him in case of his conversion and marriage to make him Governor of Silesia or of the Tyrol, but he demanded either the kingdom of Naples or the Low Countries with sovereign rights. Now, wishing to get the town of Wismar, which up to the Thirty Years' War had belonged to Mecklenburg, he turned to the Tsar with the idea of marrying Anna Iványovna, the widowed Duchess of Curland, and thus getting a comfortable little realm with no disputes. He sent Habichtsthal to St. Petersburg to arrange the match, and then, becoming impatient, wanted to go himself, ordered some diamonds from Hamburg as a present to his bride, and entrusted them to Yaguzhínsky, who was then on his way back to Russia from Copenhagen. In giving him the ring of betrothal, he gave him also a paper with the name of the Princess left blank. Some weeks later he received a letter from Habichtsthal, informing him that the matter had taken a different turn since the arrival of Yaguzhínsky, and that when he had insisted as before on the Duchess of Curland,[1] the Tsar sent for him and showed him the Duke's full power by which he could appoint either of his nieces as the bride, and had on that very evening announced the marriage of the elder sister Catherine, and that Yaguzhínsky had given her the ring of betrothal. It appears that the marriage contract was signed at this time at St. Petersburg, subject to future ratification. Eichholtz here expressed his regret that the Duke did not succeed in getting the Duchess of Curland, but her sister, who was still older, although only twenty-four. The Duke comforted him by saying: 'Fatality has brought me this Catherine, but there is nothing to be done; I must content myself with her. At least she is the favourite of the Tsaritsa.'

[1] The Tsar had at this time other plans for the marriage of the Duchess of Curland, though they all came to naught.

After walking uneasily about the room and asking whether it could possibly turn out well, the Duke sat down and wrote to his banker in Hamburg, ordering presents of various kinds for the Russian Court to the value of 70,000 thalers, and then held a privy council to know whether he should go himself to St. Petersburg without waiting the invitation of the Tsar, or send an embassy thither. An embassy was agreed upon, but suddenly changing his mind again, the Duke resolved to go himself. On the road he learned that the Tsar was already at Danzig and soon coming to Germany. Eichholtz finally persuaded him to return to Mecklenburg while he went on as his agent to Danzig.

Eichholtz was well received by the Tsar, but was in great anxiety for a week lest the Duke, in his versatile humour, should not come to the wedding, and that he himself should in consequence be sent to Siberia, for the Tsar asked every day, '*Wann kumm Herzog?*' At last the Duke arrived (March 19), and was taken immediately to the Tsar, who, with his family, was feasting with Prince Potocki, the Bishop of Ermeland. With the Tsar he acted with great modesty and quietness, almost with slavish respect; but with the Tsaritsa and his bride, although polite, he was cold, so that Eichholtz felt it necessary to excuse him on the ground of weariness, and sometimes to hint to him to show a little more enthusiasm, and at supper, seeing him look silent and glum, whispered in his ear to propose the health of the Tsar and his newly-born son. Eichholtz afterwards said to the Tsar: 'You have received my Duke as your son and given him a wife too; may I dare ask you to find me a wife too?' The Tsar, looking at him in astonishment, asked, in Dutch: 'What! aren't you married yet?' and, taking off his wig and examining it, continued: 'From above you are a fine fellow and have excellent sense, but from below it is a bad lookout.' Eichholtz blushed and sat silent; and when, after supper, the Tsar commanded him to dance, he said: 'Your Majesty has made me so shamefaced before the whole company that I do not dare lift my eyes to any of the ladies.' Peter, laughing, said: 'I will find you a partner.' When the discussion began about the ratification of the marriage treaty, the Russians refused to listen to any of the pre-

cedents, on the ground that an Imperial Princess must be treated in a far different way from any of the previous Duchesses of Mecklenburg. Poor Eichholtz disputed for whole days with Golófkin, Shafírof, and Tolstói; but the Duke would go in the evening to the Tsaritsa, and not hold out, but yield to the demands of the Russian Ministers. The ladies took up the matter so warmly that when Eichholtz appeared they called out at him: '*Hu Ober-Marschall! Bös Mann! Bös Mann!*' The Tsar always defended him: 'He is right; he does what his master bids him and looks after his interests.' It was proposed to pay the Duke 200,000 roubles, which the Tsarévna Catherine had inherited from her father; but, with the view of appearing generous, the Duke refused them, and asked instead to guarantee the town of Wismar. 'So,' says Eichholtz, '400,000 thalers slipped right away from under our noses. Why should we not have taken this money on account of the damages committed in Mecklenburg by the Russian troops? Take care, your Highness,' said Eichholtz to the Duke, 'that these Russians do not eat up the whole of Mecklenburg.' The Duke answered: 'Nonsense! They will not do anything to us. There is no people who content themselves with so little. The Russians eat grass and drink water.' Eichholtz could not but admit in part the justice of this, for he remembered the excellent discipline of the Russian troops in 1712, which had cost nothing except the best horse out of the Duke's stables, with equipments bought in Paris for 18,000 thalers, and a purse of a thousand ducats, sent as a present to their commander, Prince Menshikóf. Tolstói said that the troops demanded nothing except *Un poco di pane, Un poco di pane.* When the marriage treaty had been signed, the Duke seemed to forget all about the ceremony, and even avoided the presence of the Tsar under various flimsy pretexts, and acted very rudely towards the Russian nobles. The Tsar soon learnt to know him, and was disgusted with his big Swedish sword, his Swedish manners, and the Swedish uniform of his servants; but, in spite of the warnings of Kurákin, received too late, with his obstinacy, directness, and feeling of honour, still insisted on carrying out the marriage.

Little did the Tsar then suspect what difficulties of all kinds

this marriage was destined to bring him. Bernstorf, the favourite Hanoverian Minister of George I., Bülow, Holtz, and Dewitz in the Danish service, were all from Mecklenburg, and belonged to the dissatisfied nobility, strongly hostile to the Duke. Bernstorf, too, possessed estates in Mecklenburg, and had vainly tried to persuade the Russians, in their operations in Pomerania, to respect the rights of a neutral country. Personal rancour thenceforth added zest to his political opposition. Kurákin had written from the Hague, and again from London, that the marriage of the Duke of Mecklenburg and the surrender of Wismar to him were opposed by the English Court; that there were grave doubts as to the validity of the divorce from the Duke's first wife, and therefore whether any children of this marriage would be legitimate; and he had urged the Tsar to consider carefully whether this marriage were of such importance that he was willing to run the risk of breaking with those who were now his friends and allies. King George proposed a new treaty for operations against Sweden, with mutual guarantees, but begged that Wismar be given, not to the Duke of Mecklenburg, but handed over to Germany as an imperial possession in the Lower Saxon Circle. 'The white horse of Brunswick wished to extend its pasture land to the Baltic.' Just before the marriage a treaty of alliance was signed, by which the Tsar guaranteed the Duke against all external and internal troubles, and agreed to lend him troops and support him against the nobility. Russian troops were to be allowed free passage through the country during the war, and Russian merchants were to be allowed to have establishments in the country, as well as their own churches. The Tsar also agreed to obtain Wismar and Varnemünde for the Duke, and, if this were impossible, to pay him 200,000 rubles as dowry.

The marriage took place on April 19. The Duke, who had taken the Communion the evening before, on rising dressed himself very magnificently, being careful to put on his immense Swedish sword with its embroidered belt, but forgetting his cuffs. He dined at home. After dinner, at two o'clock, General Weyde came to take him in his carriage to the Tsar, as he had no equipage of his own in Danzig, his suite preceding him in a hired carriage. The place in front of the house where the Tsar

lived, and even the roofs of the neighbouring houses, were filled with people. When the Duke got out of his carriage his wig caught on a nail, and he was obliged to stand for some minutes bareheaded among the crowd, until the faithful Eichholtz succeeded in detaching the peruke from the nail and put it on his head again. In the presence of the King of Poland and the other Cavaliers of St. Andrew, the Tsar put his order over the Duke's shoulders, and all the Cavaliers in turn embraced their new comrade. They then went for the bride, who wore the crown of a Grand Duchess, and walked through the streets to a hastily-constructed chapel. A Russian bishop performed the ceremony, which lasted two hours, during which the Tsar, according to his habit, moved often from one place to another, and himself showed in the Psalter what it was necessary to sing. The procession then went to supper. Many in the crowd were heard to cry out: 'See! the Duke has no cuffs on.' The bridal chamber was hung in the Japanese style, and filled with Japanese lacquered objects. Even the bed was lacquered, and Eichholtz feared at first that the Duke would not sleep in it, as he disliked so much the odour. On the square in front of the Duke's house were fireworks. The Tsar, accompanied by King Augustus and the Duke, went about among the crowd and amused himself with firing off the rockets. Eichholtz followed his Duke, very much afraid of the falling sticks, and, finally, at one o'clock, had to remind him that his bride had retired at ten. The next day the newly-married pair dined with the Tsar. The day after they dined at home, the Duchess having with her three Russian ladies, one of them being very pretty—Saltykóf, a relation of hers. A question arose as to where they should sit. According to Eichholtz, the precedents were in favour of their being admitted to the Duke's table, and it was so decided; but when they went into dinner the Duke suddenly ordered them to sit at the Marshal's table, upon which Eichholtz, fearing lest they should be offended, sat down with them, making an excuse that they would find themselves there far more at their ease. The Saltykóf, however, began to weep, though Eichholtz fell upon his knees, kissed her hand, and begged her to calm herself. Neither she nor the other ladies ate anything. After dinner she immediately went to the

Duchess and made a terrible scene. The whole incident was so disagreeable to the Tsar that Saltykóf was recalled. The Duke made the Russian Ministers and officials very handsome presents, while the Mecklenburg officials received nothing—'not even a crooked pin.' Tolstói, who had learned the value of precious stones in Constantinople, was not content with the ring he received, as it had cost 500 thalers less than those presented to Golófkin and Shafírof, and, though Osterman gave him up his ring into the bargain, he complained bitterly, and even on subsequently going to Schwerin continued to act as if he had been insulted.

Apart from the political difficulties created for Peter, the result of this marriage was unhappy. Catherine, after giving birth (December 18, 1718) to a daughter, Elizabeth Catherine Christina—subsequently, on embracing the Russian religion, known by the name of Anna Leopóldovna—left her husband, came to Moscow in 1722 with her daughter, and died there in 1733. The disputes of Carl Leopold with his nobles went on. The decision of the Emperor was given against him ; his brother was appointed Administrator; and he went into exile in 1736 at Demnitz, where he died in 1747, having lived long enough to see his daughter Regent and his grandson Emperor of Russia.[1]

The marriage was hardly completed before the Tsar began to make representations in strong terms with regard to the contributions forced from Mecklenburg by the Danish and Prussian troops besieging Wismar, not only because it was unjust to make Mecklenburg contribute further to the expenses of the

[1] Anna Leopóldovna, the only child of this union, was married to the Duke Anton-Ulrich of Brunswick-Bevern, a sister's son of the Crown Princess Charlotte, and had five children, the eldest of whom, Ivan, after the death of the Empress Anne (1740), then an infant, was for a short period Emperor of Russia, under the regency of his mother. Driven from the throne by the Empress Elizabeth, Peter's daughter, he died in imprisonment in Schlüsselburg, 1764. His parents were exiled to Holmogory, where Anne died in 1746, and Anton-Ulrich in 1776. Subsequently, in 1780, at the request of the Queen Dowager Juliana Maria of Denmark, their aunt, the surviving four children were sent to Denmark, and were kept as prisoners of state at Horsens in Jutland, where the last of them died in 1807.

Christian Ludwig, who succeeded his brother Carl Leopold, is the ancestor of the present reigning house of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. The two branches of Mecklenburg are now the only ruling families of Germany of Slavonic origin.

war, but because the country would not be in a condition to support Russian troops if it were wasted by the armies of the allies. All this, and the fact that the Russians in Mecklenburg were to be at the service of the Duke, caused dissatisfaction, which was skilfully increased by Bernstorf and the Mecklenburg nobles at the Danish Court, who insinuated that the Russians intended to keep Wismar for themselves, so as to have a fortress in North Germany and on the Baltic. Peter had promised Wismar as the dowry of his niece, and it was important for him to obtain it, even if only because it saved the payment of a large sum of money. Prince Repnin, with four regiments of infantry and five of dragoons, had been sent to assist the allies in the capture of the town; but the allied generals, professing to have no orders from their Courts on the subject, refused to allow him to take his share in the siege work, though the Prussian general was willing to allow the Russian soldiers to change places with his own, and when Wismar capitulated (April 20) the Russian troops were not allowed to enter the place. This was chiefly the work of General Dewitz. Matters went so far that the generals almost came to blows, but as Repnin had no orders to use force he retired. The Tsar was very angry and made strong complaints to the King of Denmark, but as his great object was to induce the Danes to make an expedition against Scania, he let the matter pass with that.

At Stettin, on May 18, the Tsar had an interview with the King of Prussia. It had been originally planned that this meeting should be at Wismar, and the King of Denmark had been asked to take part in the conference, but news sent by Golófkin from Berlin brought about a change of route. The complaints of the Tsar against the conduct of the Prussian troops in Mecklenburg, and reports received of insolence from Russian officers and of a Prussian detachment being formally escorted to the frontier 'as if they were enemies,' had made King Frederick William very bitter for a time, and he had even written to his Ministers that he would withdraw from the alliance. 'I will not go to the interview. The Tsar must give me complete satisfaction or I shall immediately concentrate my army, which is in good condition. Then the dance can go on as last year.' And again speaking of the Danish Envoy, he wrote to Ilgen:

with drawn swords. Peter, who liked to be at his ease and had several times begged to be relieved of this superfluous honour, suggested one evening, in order to be rid of them, that it would be more comfortable if these soldiers should lay down their swords and use their moustaches to catch the gnats which plagued the company.

The Tsar had ordered his galley fleet to Rostock, and had collected his troops at the same place, to wait for the transports which, by the convention with Denmark, were to take them to Copenhagen, where they were to join the Danes in an attack on Scania. A part of the cavalry marched around through Holstein. The artillery and ammunition were to be furnished by the Danes. The transports were delayed, and at the same time Peter received very unwelcome intelligence from Copenhagen. Dolgorúky wrote that the King had told him that the English fleet, which had been vaguely promised, would hardly operate against the Swedes, for the English did not wish the Tsar to invade Scania. 'Why?' asked Dolgorúky. 'Because,' the King replied, 'they suspect the Tsar, and their reasons are his proceedings at Danzig in levying contributions, his intervention in the affairs of Mecklenburg, and his action in favour of the Duke of Mecklenburg; and now the march of the Russian troops to Rostock has caused still more suspicion.'

The Tsar immediately sent Kurákin instructions to try and arrange matters with England, and then, leaving his wife at Rostock and not waiting for the transports, set out with his fleet of forty-eight galleys, and arrived on July 17 at Copenhagen, where he was received with all outward marks of honour and welcome. He wrote to his wife: 'Let me know when you will be here, so that I can meet you, for the formalities here are indescribable. Yesterday I was at such a ceremony as I have not seen for twenty years.' With all the ceremonies and the visits of etiquette, the allies distrusted one another, and the Tsar most of all. There were rumours that he would insist on Danish Pomerania as the price of his services, and that he was resolved at all hazards to establish himself in the west. Peter, in a letter to his wife, compared the allies to young horses put to a carriage, when the side horses do nothing to assist the centre one, and whose wild movements only bring the vehicle to a

standstill. July was passing away in talking; and to the Tsar's constant demands that the transports should be sent for his troops, the Danes replied that nothing could be done until Admiral Gabel returned from the Norwegian coast, where he was watching Charles XII.; and when the Admiral returned with his fleet (August 7) it was said that the soldiers could not muster until the harvest was gathered, as the camps would injure the standing crops. There were still great delays, and, as it seemed to the Tsar, intended delays. When, therefore, Admiral Norris proposed a cruise of the joint fleets in the Baltic to convoy some merchant vessels, and offered the command to the Tsar, Peter, flattered by the honour and tired of doing nothing, gladly consented. It was certainly an imposing spectacle. There were twenty-one Russian, nineteen English, eighteen Danish, and twenty-five Dutch vessels of war, which, with numerous merchant ships, made a fleet of 800 sail. When off Stralsund Peter left the squadron in order to hasten up his troops. After returning to Copenhagen he went with a few galleys to reconnoitre the coast of Scania, and found that the Swedes had taken advantage of the delays of the allies; that the coast was well fortified; and that, according to report, 20,000 troops were in the province. He was fired upon, and the ship in which he was was pierced by a ball, while another received considerable damage.

Peter had learned caution by experience, and in view of the lateness of the season, and of the fact that the division of General Repnin had not yet been brought over, he called a council of his ministers and generals on September 12, when it was unanimously decided that it was impossible to effect an invasion of Scania during that season. This decision was confirmed by another council held subsequently, after Repnin's arrival, and it was then notified to the Danes, who professed to be greatly displeased, and then insisted on the movement. The Russians replied that owing to useless waste of time it was now too late in the autumn; that it would be impossible to land so many troops secretly; that a battle must be fought, and that two towns—Landskrona and Malmö—must be taken; and in case these places held out for any time, where were the troops to pass the winter? The Danes suggested the neighbourhood of

Elsinore, and said that the soldiers could be sheltered in pits dug in the earth. That means, the Tsar replied, to kill more men than in a pitched battle; and as to finding table provisions in Scania, '30,000 Swedish troops are sitting at that table, who will not easily give place to uninvited guests.' The Danish Ministers then said that provisions could be taken from the Danish islands. 'Soldiers' bellies,' the Tsar replied, 'are not satisfied with empty promises and hopes—still less by maps on which islands are marked—but they demand ready and real storehouses.' He then stated decisively that the invasion was impossible then, and must be put off until the following spring. The Mecklenburg intriguers then cried out that the mask had been taken off; that the Tsar had purposely delayed the transport of his troops; and that now, under pretext of the lateness of the season, had put off the expedition, when in reality he was in secret relations with the Swedes. They disseminated alarming rumours that so many Russian troops had come to Denmark for the purpose of occupying the country, and that there was a design against Copenhagen, so that measures were taken to protect it against a sudden attack. Bernstorf went to General Stanhope, who was then with King George in Hanover, with a project 'to crush the Tsar immediately, to secure his ships, and even to seize his person—to be kept till his troops should have evacuated Denmark and Germany.' Stanhope, although he was to a certain extent influenced by the Hanoverian surroundings of the King, would not consent that Admiral Norris should receive further orders than to join his remonstrances with those of the King of Denmark. It is said that Bernstorf subsequently sent such a command to Norris, but that he wisely refused to act upon this order, on the ground that it came from the Government of Hanover and not from that of England. Stanhope, in writing to Townshend, said: 'We may easily master the Tsar if we go briskly to work, and that this be thought a right measure. But how far Sweden may be enabled to disturb us in Britain you must judge. If the Tsar be left alone he will not only be master of Denmark, but, with the body of troops which he has still behind him on the frontier of Poland, may take quarters where he pleases in Germany.' Somewhat later he writes that he has received information

'that the Duke of Mecklenburg has signed a treaty with the Tsar to give up his country to him in exchange for Livonia. It is certain that if the Tsar be left alone three years he will be absolute master of those seas.' Lord Townshend, although he also believed to a certain extent in the hostile designs of the Tsar, yet, on consultation with the other Ministers, refused to become a party to any act of open hostility to Russia, and laughed at the idea even of Sir John Norris being left to winter in the Baltic, 'as if the leaving of eight men of war to be frozen up for six months would signify five grains towards giving a new turn to the affairs of the North.'[1] Others compared the Tsar to Philip of Macedon.

In the midst of these accusations against the honour of the Tsar, of these suspicions of a design against Denmark and an intention to establish himself in Mecklenburg or Lübeck, Peter's conduct was throughout upright and straightforward. Such plans as these, had they existed, must certainly have left some trace in the archives, and neither in official documents nor in Peter's most confidential correspondence are there any allusions to similar designs. He was anxious to end the war by any and every fair means. He was thoroughly disgusted by the failure of the proposed expedition against Scania, as is shown in all his correspondence then and for more than a year afterwards. At the moment he had little hopes even of a successful expedition the next year.

One is naturally reminded of a conversation of his two years previously with Weber, the Hanoverian Resident, who being together with the Danish Resident to compliment the Tsar on Easter day, says: 'He thanked us and took occasion to talk to us (the wine having put him into a good humour) about ceremonies and compliments. "These are customs," he said, "which I hold agreeable when they come from men of honesty and sincerity, qualities that I esteem preferable to all others. *Ehr* and *Redlichkeit* are fine things. I try to keep to them, and no man in the world can ever reproach me with the contrary. Yet I see with chagrin that those who ought to pay me back in like coin do not. They take steps contrary to their en-

[1] See Lord Stanhope's *History of England*, chap. vii.

gagements and to what they owe me. I have discovered all these intrigues, but whatever wrong they do me still I shall remain an honourable man and faithful and firm to the end of the war. . . . If one has a good cause there is no need of acting by intrigues and in roundabout ways, which are distasteful to me." '[1]

Everything ended quietly. The Russians showed not the least hostile design, and in October the troops were sent back to Mecklenburg and the fleet sailed away. Peter and Catherine —for she had joined him and had been treated with great honour, the Queen having made her the first visit—remained in Copenhagen for more than a month after it had been decided to put off the expedition. Though there was a little coldness at first while the conferences with the Danish Ministers were going on, yet things were soon put on an amiable footing. The King and the Tsar frequently exchanged visits, and on the anniversary of the battle of Liésnoe the English fleet saluted, and on the birthday of the King, Peter and Catherine and all the prominent Russians were at a masquerade at the palace, where all made very merry. Leaving Copenhagen on October 27, they made a leisurely journey through Denmark and Holstein to Schwerin, stopping from time to time wherever there were objects of interest, and at Lübeck long enough to allow Kupetzky to take the Tsar's portrait. While Peter, after enjoying what was for him the unusual diversion of hunting with the Duke, went alone to Havelsberg to meet the King of Prussia, Catherine remained at Schwerin intending to travel more leisurely to Holland, as the Tsar had a large following, and she was in an advanced stage of pregnancy.

This meeting was the more desirable since the confusion of affairs at Copenhagen, and the intrigues which were being carried on by Hanover both against Prussia and Russia. After the victory of Prince Eugene over the Turks at Peterwardein, the Emperor, acting under Hanoverian inspiration, had ordered Prussia to send a delegate to the peace conference at Brunswick, had forbidden in the sharpest terms the razing of the fortress of Wismar, and when the Russian troops came back to Mecklenburg demanded nothing less than their removal, even 'at

[1] Weber's Report to Elector of Hanover, April 3–14, 1714; E. Herrmann, *Peter der Grosse*, &c., p. 16.

the risk of a rupture with Russia.' 'No peasant,' said the Emperor in patriotic language, 'allows a stranger to tie his horse to his hedge. How much less can the German nation suffer foreign and harmful troops on German soil? It is disreputable for them unwillingly to endure a Russian garrison in Germany.' When the Russian troops returned from Denmark the Hanoverians wrote to Vienna that 'if the Emperor should categorically declare to him that the Empire would no longer suffer the arbitrary acts of the Russians on German soil,' Peter would not dare to remain. Nevertheless he did remain. 'The whole might of the Russians stands before our doors,' they wrote again to Vienna, and then sent envoys both to the Tsar at Schwerin and to the King of Prussia, promising the Tsar the help of an English fleet in the spring if he would only withdraw his troops, and to the King insinuating that the Tsar wished to establish himself there by occupying Lübeck, Hamburg, and Wismar, and offering to make a treaty to turn the Russians out, to protect the Mecklenburg nobility, and naturally to divide the spoils. The King replied: 'The Tsar has given his word that he will take nothing for himself from the Empire. Besides this, part of his cavalry is marching towards Poland, and it would be impossible for him to take those three cities without artillery, which he does not possess.' On Ilgen's report the King wrote: 'Tomfoolery!—shall refuse, and sit fast by brother Peter, and put a noseband on the Hanoverians that they may not hit me over the head and contest Pomerania.' On another: 'Right pedantic Bernstorfian answer; such foolish *raisonnement* and threats have never seen in my days.' Frederick William, who was daily becoming more hostile to Hanover, and who had endeavoured to protect himself on one side by a defensive alliance (September 17) with France, came to the interview well disposed towards the Tsar. The result was a mutual agreement to protect each other in case of attack, and hinder the claims of Sweden to provinces conquered by Russia. It was agreed to begin at once razing the walls of Wismar, which nearly brought about a conflict with the Hanoverians, who so much desired that Wismar should be declared an imperial city. That Peter was content with this result we can see from a letter to Apráxin: 'Formerly we wrote you about affairs here in a very despairing

tone, but now there have been some changes, about which I will shortly write you at length. . . . Things are still in their former state; there is still no sure resolution as to the spring, but I certainly expect a "fever crisis" about new year, concerning which I shall not fail to write. . . . I came here at the wish of the King of Prussia, and we have accomplished something which is not unprofitable. I go hence through Hamburg to Holland, where I shall stay till March, in order to be nearer England for arranging about the coming spring. If you need anything for the Admiralty or for yourself privately, be good enough to write to me.'

The satisfaction of Frederick William, combined with gratitude at a promise of more tall grenadiers, expressed itself in presenting Peter with a full rigged yacht he had admired at Potsdam, and an amber cabinet, which, as Catherine wrote to Menshikóf, he had always coveted.

Passing by Hamburg,[1] Bremen (where he was received by the inhabitants with great demonstration as their deliverer from the Swedes), Deventer, Amersfort, and Utrecht, Peter arrived at Amsterdam (December 17), followed closely by his Ministers, and immediately wrote to Catherine: 'What I have written before I now confirm, not to come by the way which I came, for it is indescribably bad. Do not bring many people, for life in Holland has become very dear. As to the church singers, if they have not already started, half of them will be enough. Leave the rest in Mecklenburg. All who are with me here sympathise with you about your journey. If you can endure it you had better stay where you are, for the bad roads may be dangerous to you. However, do as you please, and for God's sake do not think that I do not want you to come, for you know yourself how much I wish it, and it is better for you to come than to be lonely and sad. Still I could not desist from writing, and I know that you will not endure being left alone.' Catherine started, but after a hard journey was obliged to stop at Wesel, where on January 14, 1717, she gave birth to the

[1] The city of Hamburg, remembering its punishment by Menshikóf, consented to surrender to the Tsar Voinarófsky, the nephew of Mazeppa and his heir, who had been favoured by Charles XII., and was then going to Sweden to take service under him.

annual child, this time again a son, Paul. The Tsar, who was suffering from a sharp attack of fever, wrote to his wife: 'I received yesterday by Mavrin your delightful letter, in which you say that the Lord God has blessed us by giving us another recruit, for which be praise to Him and unforgetting thanks. It delighted me doubly, first about the new-born child, and that the Lord God has freed you from your pains, from which also I became better. Ever since Christmas I have not been able to sit up as long as yesterday. As soon as possible I will immediately come to you.' But the next day came the news that the newly-born Prince was dead and the mother very weak, and the worst was that his death was ascribed to the bad treatment which Catherine had met in passing through Hanover. The Tsar had already announced the birth of his second son to his friends and to the functionaries in Russia, and now wrote to his wife: 'I received your letter about what I knew beforehand, the unexpected occurrence which has changed joy to grief. What answer can I give except with the much-suffering Job? The Lord has given and the Lord has taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord. I beg you to reflect on it in this way; I do as far as I can. My illness, thank God, lessens from hour to hour, and I hope soon to go out of the house. It is now nothing but irritation. Otherwise, I praise God I am well, and should long ago have gone to you if I could have gone by water, but I fear the shaking up in land travelling. Besides, I am waiting for an answer from the English King, who is expected here in these days.' Peter tried to join his wife, but his fever lasted till the middle of February; and meanwhile Catherine had recovered and had already reached Amsterdam.

Peter's fever caused him considerable inconvenience as well as loss of time. He was obliged to receive the foreign Ministers and others who came to him as best he could. Baron van Heems, the Imperial Minister at the Hague, went to Amsterdam to give him a letter from the Emperor with regard to his troops in Mecklenburg, and found him on a couch without canopy or curtains and covered up to his neck. The Tsar had greatly wished to see George I. as he passed through Holland on his way back to England. But he was too ill even to leave his bed, and sent Kurákin and Tolstói, who went to Vlaardingen,

but were not received. The King subsequently apologised for this by the fact that he had already gone aboard his yacht, and that as he was hastening to England his departure could not be delayed, on account of the tide.

The death of little Paul, though Peter tried so hard not to show it, really aggravated his illness, and to this was added a new trouble with regard to his son Alexis, who under the guise of joining his father, had run away and entirely disappeared, though he was thought to have taken refuge in Austria.

Peter had lived through so much that he was able in a measure to throw off his annoyances, and now that his wife was with him devoted himself heartily to the pleasure of seeing again Holland, where he had spent such a happy time in his youth. We can understand with what pleasure he went about looking for his old acquaintances, not only among the men of science but among his former comrades at the East India Wharf and at Zaandam, where he took Catherine and dined with his friend Calf. After Amsterdam came Utrecht, the Hague, Leyden, and Rotterdam, whence he set out on a journey to France, while Catherine returned to the Hague to wait for him.[1]

Just as Peter was recovering from his illness he received a report from Veselófsky, now his Resident in London, of the arrest of Count Gyllenborg, the Swedish Minister, on account of an intercepted correspondence, proving that the Swedes were intending to invade Scotland with 12,000 troops, in conjunction with the Pretender. It was a plot skilfully contrived by Goertz to win new friends for his master, and was directed against France as well as England. Cardinal Alberoni, the Prime Minister of Spain, was also engaged in it. Goertz was arrested in Holland, but was soon set at liberty.[2] Peter was greatly delighted. He instructed Veselófsky to report in detail

[1] Besides purchasing the remarkable anatomical collection of Ruysch, which is still preserved in St. Petersburg, the Tsar, to give pleasure to Catherine, ordered a small model of a wealthy Amsterdam house. This remarkable model was for some reason never sent to St. Petersburg, and is in the museum at the Hague, where it affords an excellent picture of the conditions of life at this time.

[2] For a sufficient account of this plot see Stanhope's *History of England*, chap. viii.

GENERAL VIEW OF ZAANDAM

all that had occurred, and especially how the English Ministers were now disposed towards him, hoping that Parliament would be induced to grant subsidies for a war against Sweden, and that thus, in fact, he would acquire a strong ally. In such a case he would be ready to withdraw the rest of his troops from Mecklenburg in order to please King George. Sheremétief, with twelve battalions, had already marched to Poland, and with regard to the remaining twenty negotiations were going on with Denmark. He sent a full account of the 'curious incident' to the Senate, and, in relating it to Apráxin, wrote: 'Have I not been right in always drinking to the health of the Swede? For one could not have bought at any price what he has himself done.' The joy of the Tsar was of short duration, for Bernstorf gave Veselófsky to understand that the withdrawal of all the troops from Mecklenburg was a first condition to any friendly arrangement, and he soon ascertained that in the papers of Gyllenborg which had been seized mention was made of him, and especially of his physician, Erskine, a Scotchman and a great Jacobite, who was said to be in correspondence with his relative the Earl of Mar; and it was hinted that the Tsar was not only informed of the designs of the Swedes against England, but, having a secret understanding with Sweden, had been ready to support them.[1]

[1] The parts of the correspondence thought to incriminate the Tsar are the following, as printed in Rapin, vol. iv., part ii., p. 509 ff:—

Letter of M. Gustavus Gyllenborg to the Count, his brother, dated the Hague, November 17, 1716.

'Baron Sparre takes notice that my Lord Mar has a cousin-german, named Erskine, with the Tsar, who is physician and privy-councillor to that Prince; which favourite has wrote letters to my Lord Mar, giving a very particular account of the Tsar—viz., that the Tsar will not attempt anything more against Sweden; that he has fallen out with his allies; that he can never be friends with King George; that he hates him mortally; that he is sensible of the just cause of the Pretender; that he wishes for nothing more than a conjuncture in which he may be able to restore him to his dominions; that the Tsar, having the advantage wholly on his side, cannot make the first step; but if the King would make the least advance, there would very soon be an accommodation between them.'

Baron Goertz to Baron Sparre, November 12, 1716.

'Yet I cannot but think that, by the canal of the favourite physician, the good dispositions of the Tsar might be improved, if they are indeed such as

Veselófsky was instructed immediately to make representations to the English Government, and, if possible, to print a memorial in English and French, 'to show to the whole world' that the Tsar had never had any designs against the King of England, but that he had always sought his friendship and alliance; that although he had suffered from the action of the King with regard to the expedition against Scania; and though, thanks to the Ministers of King George, the Danish Court was still indisposed to Russia; though intrigues had been made against him at the Diet of Regensburg, in order to excite hatred to Russia and compel the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the territory of the Empire; although Tolstói and Prince Kurákin, who had been sent with propositions to the King, had not been received by him; yet he had never had any idea of supporting the Pretender, and that all statements of such a character in the correspondence of the Swedish Ministers were false. He admitted, however, that when the negotiations with King George had been broken off he had received a letter from the Pretender, with regard to a separate peace between Russia and Sweden. This, however, he had not answered, and had not received the persons who brought it; that nothing had ever been communicated to him of any plot in favour of the Pretender, or of any intention on the part of the King of Sweden to attack England. Erskine had been thirteen years in the Tsar's service, and had always acted with propriety; and when the Tsar had ascertained that some of his relations were implicated with the Pretender, he had forbidden him to hold communica-

have been represented. If the Tsar come hither, and we can get a private conversation with the Favourite, we might certainly carry things on far, supposing, as I said, that what the Favourite has written be well founded. In the meanwhile I am contriving some other way.'

Baron Goertz to Count Gyllenborg.

'The Hague, December 11, 1716.

'My Lord's relation hath indeed sent word that the Tsar has some dispositions to peace, which we will not fail to make advantage of, that we may be in a condition the better to push on the affair in question. The Tsar is to be here very speedily. If it could be ordered that the said relation of my Lord Mar should speak to me, I should quickly perceive what might be done there. You will easily judge, sir, that an agreement with the Tsar would give great weight to the other affair.'

tions with them, even with regard to his private affairs. Erskine declared on oath that he had written no such letters to Lord Mar, or to anyone else. The English Ministers replied that the false insinuations of the Swedish Ministers had produced no effect upon them; that there was not even any ground of suspecting Erskine; and that in publishing the Swedish correspondence the English Government had no other intention than to expose the plots of the Swedes. The Secretary of State ended these explanations with the usual remark, that when the Russian troops should be withdrawn from Mecklenburg the relations between England and Russia would no doubt be placed on their old footing.

The English could not refuse to accept the Tsar's explanation, who was certainly clear of any complicity in the affair. The whole correspondence shows that the Swedes hoped merely for a peace with Russia (for roundabout negotiations had been going on for that end), through which they would be enabled to carry out the other design, but not that they expected any active assistance from the Tsar. At that time there had been no personal communication between Goertz and the Russian Ministers. Confusion has been made with what happened subsequently, after the Tsar's return from France.[1]

[1] Solovief, xvii.; Journal of Peter the Great; Golikof, vi.; Droysen; Lord Stanhope, *History of England;* Rapin de Thoyra's *History of England;* Eichholtz, 'Memoir,' in *Russian Antiquity*, 1875; Scheltema, *Rusland en de Nederlanden;* Guerrier, *Leibnitz and Peter the Great.*

LXX.

THE TSAR IN PARIS.—1717.

The difficulty of maintaining a sincere good understanding with Hanover and thus with England led the Tsar to accept, without hesitation, the overtures which had of late been cautiously made by France.

The Duke of Orleans had entered on a new political system. Instead of hostility to England and protection to the Jacobites, he had sought the friendship of England, supported the Hanoverian dynasty and signed the Triple Alliance. In addition to patriotic motives and the value of the English alliance to France, he had got for himself a guarantee of his succession to the throne in the event of the death of Louis XV., a small and delicate boy. The Bourbon King of Spain, who had renounced his rights, was intriguing to regain them, and causing much uneasiness at the Palais Royal. To get another ally he had entered into relations with Prussia, and indeed had, on September 14, 1716, signed at Berlin a secret treaty with King Frederick William, by which, in consideration of the guarantee of his rights to the succession, he had guaranteed in return to Prussia the possession of Stettin and its district, and promised a subsidy in case of trouble. The King kept this treaty secret from the Tsar, but, on the suggestion of the French Minister, talked to him of the advantages of a good understanding between Russia and France, to which Peter replied favourably. Golófkin reported from Berlin that he had received hints of the same kind. Count Rottembourg, the French Minister, explained to the King the policy of his Government by the desire of having in Germany some counterpoise to Austria; that for this purpose France had supported Sweden as long as she was strong, and had secured the Swedes a foothold in Germany, but that now, in view of the ruin of Sweden, she would willingly abandon her and ally herself with Prussia and Russia, and thought it desir-

able that Russian troops should remain in Germany. The Tsar replied to the King, asking for a formal proposition from France, and suggesting Holland as a place for negotiations, but declared that while he was ready to ally himself with France, he did not wish to serve as a mere tool for accomplishing French ends, nor to be led into hostility against the Emperor. He wished his hands free to treat himself with the Emperor at some future time if his interests demanded it. He also found it impossible to establish himself in Germany, and keep there a permanent Russian army as France wished. King Frederick William replied that he was of the same opinion, and that, in case of an agreement with France, should any necessity ever arise, it would be easy enough for Russia to introduce troops into the Empire, as Prussia would always give them a free passage, and the Poles would not be in a position to prevent them.

Some steps had before then been taken in the same direction, and a French diplomatist had even been instructed to go to Pyrmont under pretext of taking the waters, and insinuate himself into the good graces of the Tsar. Now that matters had gone so far, Kurákin, by the Tsar's orders, entered into relations with M. de Châteauneuf, the French Ambassador at the Hague, and a week afterwards made a formal proposition for a treaty. The Regent instructed his Ambassador to open negotiations when he received a confidential letter from the Abbé Dubois, who advised him strongly against this step, for fear lest, by drawing near to the Tsar, he would lose the friendship of England and Holland. The Abbé admitted that he had not gone to the bottom of the matter, and that it was simply a general feeling on his part, but he said: 'The Tsar and the King of Prussia pass for two very faithless princes. If in establishing the Tsar you chase the English and Dutch from the Baltic Sea, you will be eternally odious to these two nations. The Tsar has chronic maladies, and his son will support nothing. The King of Prussia, allied to the crown of England, and who cannot keep himself from marrying one of his daughters to the Prince of Wales, will make it up with his father-in-law. . . . I cannot help recalling at this moment two Italian proverbs. One is *Chi sta bene non si muove*, and the other is the epitaph of a man who killed himself by precautionary measures, *Per star meglio*

son qui. Apply these two truths to your position, and if the Triple Alliance can suffice you, examine if the rest is necessary, and whether by keeping to what is sure and not conflicting, you will not finally have more advantage than by taking up what is risky.' This letter made a deep impression on the Regent. He modified the orders sent to Châteauneuf, bidding him prolong delay and raise difficulties. Cnyphausen, who was with the Tsar in Holland, as the agent of King Frederick William, took part in the negotiations. The Tsar first proposed a defensive alliance between the two States, with reciprocal guarantees, including of course the newly-annexed provinces. This being refused, the Russian propositions were gradually reduced to the following: That the Tsar would guarantee the treaties of Utrecht and Baden without exacting any guarantee for his states or conquests, knowing that such guarantee could not be given until a regular cession had been made by treaty of peace; that France should give no subsidy to the King of Sweden during the war; that the good offices of France should be employed to make a peace *without any partiality to the King of Sweden;* and that a subsidy of 25,000 crowns a month should be given to the Tsar during the rest of the war. These points were handed to Châteauneuf on March 30, and on the same day the Tsar, thinking he might accomplish more on the spot, announced to him his intention of going personally to Paris, asked that as little as possible be said about it before his arrival, and started the same day. Peter greatly desired peace, and he was determined to leave nothing undone which he could do to obtain it. That such was his real desire may be seen from a letter about this time to Sheremétief, which also throws light on his proceedings in Denmark. He writes: 'The descent on Scania was hindered and prevented by you and some other generals, and what bad consequences now arise from it! The Englishman does not intend to do anything, and the Danes dare not do anything without him, and so we shall go home with shame. Besides this, if the descent had taken place we should now have peace. Therefore, do you and the other generals give me counsel in what way to bring this war to a conclusion, only in these letters don't write "as you wish," but reflect on it and send me your real opinion.' Peter may have had still an additional inducement

OFFICIAL BUILDINGS AT THE HAGUE.

to visit Paris, for he had recently received from Zotof, his agent there, a letter reporting a conversation with the Marshal d'Estrées as to the possibility of a second marriage of the Tsarevitch Alexis with a daughter of the Duke of Orleans, that the Marshal had said nothing would be refused to the Tsar, and that the Regent said that he would be very glad if it took place that day. This perhaps led to the idea, which never left Peter to the day of his death, of marrying his daughter Elizabeth to King Louis XV.

If we may believe St. Simon, the Regent would have been glad to avoid this visit, not only on account of the great expense attending it, and on account of the anticipated difficulties of etiquette, but also because the Tsar was in such unfriendly relations to King George of England. Nevertheless, he hastily did all he could in the way of preparations, sent carriages and an escort to Dunkirk, and ordered Marshal de Tessé to meet the Tsar and wait upon him during his stay. The apartments of the late Queen at the Louvre, and in case he preferred a private house, the Hôtel Lesdiguières, near the arsenal, belonging to the Marshal de Villeroi, were prepared for him. Meudon was also put at his disposition.

The Tsar, however, did not hasten. Led away by the enticements of travel, he made a royal progress through the Low Countries, for, in spite of his *incognito*, he was received everywhere with salutes of cannon and ringing of bells, and was met by the authorities and the population. He stayed five days at Rotterdam, whence he sent Catherine back to the Hague, for he wished to avoid questions of etiquette; and Catherine, while distinguished for her good heart and sound sense, remained ignorant, and could not be expected to interest herself in the many things which would take up her husband's attention during his journey. From Rotterdam Peter went slowly by yacht to Dort, Breda, and Flushing, then up the Scheldt to Antwerp, visiting in each place all the curiosities, and even ascending the cathedral spire at Antwerp; then to Brussels,[1] where he was met and

[1] Peter wrote to Catherine from Brussels: 'I send you lace for *fontange* and *engageantes*, for the best lace in all Europe is made here, but they make it to order only; therefore send the pattern and what name or arms you wish worked in it.'

followed by the Duke of Holstein-Ploen and Prince de la Tour, by Ghent, Bruges, Ostende, and Nieupoort, to Dunkirk, where he examined with great care the fortifications then in progress of destruction,[1] and Calais, where he remained nine days and kept the last week of Lent and the Russian Easter. Monsieur de Liboy, a gentleman of the King's household, had been sent to Dunkirk to meet him, and was greatly distressed by the disputes about carriages, by the difficulties made at every turn by the Tsar's suite, and, above all, by the daily expense which far exceeded his estimates, and in every despatch he expressed the desire of putting the Tsar and his suite on a money allowance, and permitting them to provide for themselves. He was besides perplexed by the conduct of the Tsar, whom he thought idle and amusing himself rather than attending to business, and troubled himself about the object of the journey, of which he could not get the slightest hint. The Duke of Holstein and the Prince de la Tour also annoyed him because they took seats at the Tsar's table and places in the carriages intended for others, and that, too, when they were not down on his official list. Besides this, while the Tsar wished to travel strictly *incognito*, he was ready to accept certain honours, such as salutes, and Prince Kurákin was particular in having an exact statement of the ceremonial that would have been accorded to him were he travelling as a sovereign. There were with the Tsar in all twenty-two persons of rank, and thirty-nine orderlies and servants, and according to Liboy, 'this little court is very changeable and irresolute, and from the throne to the stable very subject to anger.' He writes: 'I persist in what I have said of the character of the Tsar, in whom one does indeed find seeds of virtue, but they are all wild and very mixed. I believe that uniformity and constancy in his projects is what fails him most, and that he has not arrived at that point when one can really rely upon what would be concluded with him. I admit that Prince Kurákin is polite; he appears to be intelligent and to desire to arrange everything to our mutual satisfaction. I do not know if it is by temperament or through fear of the Tsar, who appears, as I have said, very hard to please and quick tempered,

[1] He wrote to Catherine: 'It is very sad to look at the ruins of this fortress, and especially the harbour.'

that Kurákin seems to treat the least trifles with warmth and as very important. I will not enter into details. Prince Dolgorúky appears a gentleman, and to be much esteemed by the Tsar; the only inconvenience is that he understands absolutely no language but Russian. In this respect, allow me to remark that the term Muscovite, or even Muscovy, is deeply offensive to all this court. The lieutenant-general Buturlín is much esteemed by the Tsar, and understands a little German. The councillor Tolstói is in his confidence, is very polite, and speaks Italian. The adjutant and chamberlain Yaguzhínsky is the favourite. He is fond of pleasure, and never goes to bed sober. He does not appear to take any part in affairs, and, to tell the truth, it is on Prince Kurákin that everything respecting the journey depends. You know the councillor Erskine better than I do. I think that he is very desirous of meddling in everything, and that he is shut out everywhere. The secretary Makárof has a district that I do not know, as also the secretary Volkof. They neither of them appear to be personages of importance. I have not seen the councillor Osterman, and I do not know what he does. He has been invited out several times. I think he comes seldom to table, and takes part in very little. Raguzhínsky is a thoughtless young man, and nephew of Savva Raguzhínsky, whom you have seen the last ten days in Paris, who intrigues in all sorts of affairs, and whom I think a man little to be relied upon. You know him, he is distinguished in the list. The arch-priest is the boon companion of the favourite, and at least as little sober, and a great burden. I think he busies himself only with drinking. He speaks nothing but Russian. This, Monseigneur, is what I have been able to remark up till now of the principal personages of this court. The Tsar rises early, dines about ten o'clock, sups about seven, and retires before nine. He drinks liquors before meals, beer and wine in the afternoon, sups very little, and sometimes not at all. I have not been able to perceive any sort of council or conference for serious business, unless they discuss affairs while tippling. I am even astonished, and I do not know if they do not live from hand to mouth, the Tsar deciding alone and promptly whatever is presented. This Prince varies on all occasions his amusements and walks, and is extraordinarily quick, impatient,

and very hard to please.' Again he says: 'He likes especially to see the water. He lives in the great apartments, and sleeps in some out-of-the-way room if there be any.'[1]

Peter apparently did not find French wines to his taste, for he wrote to Catherine: 'Thanks for the Hungarian wine, which here is a great rarity. There is only one bottle of *vodka* left. I don't know what to do.' Among other curiosities, he found at Calais a giant, named Nicholas, whom he engaged to go to Russia, and adds to his wife: 'I send you a French *dwarf* I have engaged. Be good enough to look after him so that he may want nothing.'

At last the Tsar left Calais on May 4, but refused entirely to keep the itinerary laid down for him. A great reception had been arranged at Amiens, but he passed round the town and slept at Breteuil. De Bernage, in expressing his annoyance, adds in a postscript: 'It is not impossible that the Bishop of Amiens may make some complaints, for in order not to lose my display, I invited some ladies to come and eat the Tsar's supper, and Madame de Bernage gave a grand ball in the Episcopal palace, of which this prelate had left me master, as he had very prudently not judged it convenient to interrupt the course of his visits to come to see or not see the Tsar.'

At Beauvais the Bishop was equally disappointed in the reception that he had arranged, although he had the opportunity of talking with the Tsar, who stopped for a moment at the gate. When they told the Tsar he would find nothing fit to eat further on, he replied: 'I am a soldier, and when I find bread and water I am content.'

At Beaumont-sur-Oise on May 7 the Tsar was met by

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[1] In order to render things easier at Paris, Liboy thought it necessary to send a note of the way in which the Tsar lived: 'The Tsar has a head cook who prepares two or three dishes for him every day, and who uses for this purpose enough wine and meat to serve a table of eight.

'He is served both a meat and a lenten dinner on Fridays and Saturdays.

'He likes sharp sauces, brown and hard bread, and green peas.

'He eats many sweet oranges and apples and pears.

'He generally drinks light beer and dark *vin de Nuits*, without liquor.

'The morning he drinks aniseed water (Kümmel), liquors before meals, beer and wine in the afternoon. All of them fairly cold.

'He eats no sweetmeats and does not drink sweetened liquors at his meals.'

Marshal de Tessé with the royal carriages and an escort of guards, and reached Paris about half-past nine that evening. He remained for nearly an hour at the Louvre, where he found the apartments too fine for him, looked at the supper table set with a superb *ambigu* for sixty persons, asked for some bread and radishes, tasted six kinds of wine, and drank two glasses of beer, and was then driven to the Hôtel Lesdiguières, which, besides being more retired, had a pleasing situation on the river and a fine view. Even here he disliked the large, luxuriously furnished rooms, and had a camp-bed put up in a small dressing-room. The next morning, Saturday, the Regent paid a visit to the Tsar. He was met at his carriage by four gentlemen of the Tsar's suite, and in the anteroom was received by the Tsar himself, who advanced a few paces, embraced the Duke, and as the saloon was full of people showed him into his cabinet. They were followed by Prince Kurákin, who served as interpreter. Here two arm-chairs had been placed opposite each other. The Tsar sat down in the one at the upper end of the room and the Regent in the other. The conversation lasted nearly an hour, with no talk of business, after which the Tsar left the cabinet followed by the Regent, and with a profound bow left him at the same spot where he had met him on arrival. The formality of this visit is remarkable, but the Tsar had come to Paris to effect a definite object, and felt it necessary not to derogate from his rank as a sovereign and to comply with all the demands of the strictest etiquette. Much therefore as he desired to see the curiosities of Paris, he, contrary to his usual custom, refused to leave the house until he had received the visit of the King. As he wrote to Catherine: 'For two or three days I must stay in the house for visits and other ceremonies, and therefore I have as yet seen nothing; but to-morrow or the day after I shall begin sight-seeing. From what I could see on the road the misery of the common people is very great.' In a postscript, after giving directions about sending a boat to Russia, he adds: 'I have this moment received your letter full of jokes. You say that I'll soon be looking about for a lady, but that would not be at all becoming to my old age.' The next day, Monday, the King made his visit. The Tsar met him at his carriage and con-

ducted him to his room, where there were two arm-chairs of the same size, and gave the King that on his right. Prince Kurákin served as interpreter; the Duke du Maine and Marshal de Villeroi carried on most of the conversation for the King. After a quarter of an hour the Tsar rose, took the King in his arms, raised him up and kissed him several times with great politeness and tenderness, after which the King retired with the same ceremony. The next day the Tsar returned the visit of the King at the Tuileries, and was received with a similar ceremonial. Seeing that the little Louis was hastening to meet him at his carriage, Peter jumped out of it, rushed up to the King, took him in his arms and carried him up the staircase. He wrote to Catherine: 'I inform you that last Monday the little King here visited me, who is only a finger or two taller than our Luhe (his dwarf). The child is very handsome in face and build and sensible enough for his age, which is only seven years.' To Menshikóf, after speaking of the poverty of the peasants, he gives much the same account: 'The King is a mighty man and very old in years, namely, seven.'

It is interesting to compare with this the account of Marshal Villeroi, who wrote to Madame de Maintenon: 'I cannot express to you the dignity, the grace, and the pretty way in which the King made and received the visit of the Tsar; but I must tell you that this Prince said to be barbarous is not so at all; he displayed sentiments of grandeur, generosity, and politeness, which we by no means expected.'

Now that this visit of ceremony had been made, Peter returned the call of the Regent, and visited also his wife and his mother, who writes: 'I received to-day a great visit, that of my hero the Tsar. I find that he has very good manners, taking this expression in the sense of those of a person *sans façon* and not in the least affected. He has much judgment. He speaks bad German, but still makes himself understood without trouble and talks very freely. He is polite towards everybody and is much liked.' He also visited, half by accident, the Duchess de Berry and the Princess de Conti. The rest of the great ladies of Paris saw him only by chance on going to some place which he was to visit. There was a dispute of etiquette with regard to the Princes of the blood, who refused to call

upon the Tsar unless they first had an assurance that he would return the visit to their wives. In the course of his excursions, however, he saw many of the most distinguished men of France.

Sight-seeing occupied the greater part of the six weeks which Peter spent in Paris and its neighbourhood. The business for which he had come was by no means neglected, but of that we will speak later. It is impossible to enter into all the details of the Tsar's stay. He visited the chief monuments, went several times to the Observatory, the manufactory of Gobelin tapestry, and the *Jardin des Plantes*. In the great gallery of the Louvre, Marshal de Villars explained to him the plans of the chief French fortresses. He went to the Invalides, tasted the soldiers' soup and wine and drank to their health, dined with Prince Rakóczy, and went with him to Meudon, dined at Issy with the Marshal d'Estrées, who entertained him with talk about the French navy; dined at St. Cloud with the Regent, hunted stags with the Count de Toulouse at Fontainebleau, visited the natural and mechanical curiosities of the Postmaster at Bercy, spent two hours in the Abbey of St. Denis, called upon the ex-Queen of England, and made a second visit to the King at the Tuileries. He spent several days at Versailles and the Trianon, where his suite was lodged in the old apartment of Madame de Maintenon, and created great scandal by the young ladies they brought with them. He suddenly left Versailles to see the procession on Whit Sunday, and the service by the Cardinal de Noailles at Notre Dame. During his visit to the mint a medal was struck in his honour with an appropriate inscription and the motto from Virgil, *Vires acquirit eundo*. He was solemnly received at the Sorbonne, and was given a plan for the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches drawn up by the theologians of that institution. On his return to Russia, Peter gave this document to the Russian bishops, with orders to answer it. The first reply, drawn up by Stephen Yavórsky, was thought by the Tsar to be too dogmatical and impolite in tone, and another one to the same effect was therefore written by Theophán Procópovitch. The substance of both was the same. The Russian bishops considered that they had no right to settle the question without the knowledge of the four Eastern Patriarchs. Singularly enough in the same year

there was a movement among the English clergy for a union between the English and the Oriental churches, and the Tsar received a letter to that effect signed by two bishops, Jeremy Collier and Archibald Campbell. Another long letter on the same subject was written to Golófkin by Patrick Cockburn.

In consequence of the Tsar's visit to the Academy and his talk with Delisle, the Academy of Sciences expressed a wish to elect him a member. He accepted the honour, and his election as Academician *hors de tout rang* took place on December 22, 1717. Fontenelle was given the duty of replying to the letters of the Tsar, who had the Caspian Sea surveyed and sent the map as a present, and after the Tsar's death delivered, in November, 1725, the customary *éloge* at a public meeting of the Academy.

He found time too, at the request of the Regent, to have his portrait painted by Rigaud and by Nattier, to visit hospitals and witness an operation for the cataract, to attend the Parliament, and to review the Royal Guard in the Champs Elysées.

Many incidents of the Tsar's stay in Paris were amusing to contemporaries. On one occasion he went with the Duke of Orleans to the Opera, where he sat on the front bench of the large box. During the performance the Tsar asked if he could not have some beer. A large goblet on a saucer was immediately brought. The Regent rose, took it, and presented it to the Tsar, who, with a smile and a bow of politeness, took the goblet without any ceremony, drank, and put it back on the saucer which the Regent kept holding. The Duke then took a plate with a napkin, which he presented to the Tsar, who, without rising, made use of it, at which scene the audience seemed astonished.

When he drove from Versailles to St. Germain and visited the school of St. Cyr, founded by Madame de Maintenon, he expressed a desire to see the wife of Louis XIV. To put herself in the most favourable light the venerable lady took to her bed, having the curtains only half drawn. Peter entered, pulled back the window curtains and the bed curtains (it was seven o'clock in the evening), looked at her for a moment silently, then sat down on the bed at her feet and asked what her illness

was. She replied, 'Old age.' Peter, who did not know what to say, for his interpreter appeared not to hear her, rose and went away, after a very brief visit. Madame de Maintenon was flattered, for while the Tsar was still in the house, she wrote an account of it to her niece, Madame de Caylus,[1] and it is said that on the appearance of the Tsar a ray of her former beauty lighted up her face.

Everywhere the Tsar was received with respect and consideration. His history, his character, his achievements, his exact knowledge in so many directions, and his interest in everything that was scientific and technical, made a deep impression. St. Simon thus describes him: 'He was a very tall man, well made, not too stout, with a roundish face, a high forehead, and fine eyebrows, a short nose—but not too short—large at the end; his lips were rather thick; his complexion a ruddy brown; fine black eyes, large, lively, piercing, and well apart; a majestic and gracious look when he wished, otherwise severe and stern, with a twitching which did not often return, but which disturbed his look and his whole expression and inspired fear. That lasted but a moment, accompanied by a wild and terrible look, and passed away as quickly. His whole air showed his intellect, his reflection, and his greatness, and did not lack a certain grace. He wore only a linen collar, a round brown perruque without powder which did not touch his shoulders, a brown tight-fitting coat, plain, with gold buttons; a waistcoat, breeches, stockings, no gloves nor cuffs; the star of his order on his coat and the ribbon underneath; his coat often quite unbuttoned, his hat on a table and never on his head even out of doors. With all this simplicity, and whatever bad carriage or company he might be, one could not fail to perceive the air of greatness that was natural to him.'

After reciprocal visits of adieu exchanged with the King and the Regent, and after giving his portrait set with diamonds to the Duke d'Antin, Marshal de Tessé, Marshal d'Estrées, and two or three others, and liberal presents to many more, Peter left Paris on Sunday, June 20. It was the Russian Whit Sunday, and as he first heard service and started after dinner he

[1] In a previous letter she had said: 'The Tsar . . . seems to me a very great man since he has enquired about me.'

got no further than Livry, where he was the guest of the Marquis. The next day he dined with Marshal d'Estrées at Nanteuil, and slept at Soissons. At Reims he is said to have been shown the missal on which the Kings of France had for so many generations taken their coronation oath, and to have read it easily, to the great astonishment of the clergy, who then first learned that the mysterious unknown character in which it was written was Slavonic. From Charleville to Liége by boat down the Meuse, and thence to Spa, took a week, for there were spectacles on land and water, curious things to see, and Imperial, Dutch, and Electoral authorities vied in doing him honours.

Peter remained at Spa drinking the waters for fully five weeks. Two of his letters to Catherine are interesting, the second being written on the anniversary of Poltáva, which he celebrated with a public dinner and fireworks. 'Spa, July 1.—I yesterday received your letter of the 11th, in which you write of the illness [the smallpox] of our daughters, and that the first, thank God! is getting better, while the other has taken to her bed, about which Alexander Danílovitch also writes me. But your changed style has made me very sad, as the bringer of this will tell you. For your letter was very differently written from usual. God grant we can hear the same about Ánushka as about Lísenka. When you write for me to come quickly and that you are very lonesome, I believe you. The bringer of this will tell you how lonely I am without you, and I can say that, except those days when I was in Versailles and Marly, twelve days ago, I have had no great pleasure. But here I must stay some days, and when I finish drinking the water I will start that very day, for there are only seven hours by land and five days by water. God grant to see you in joy, which I wish from all my heart.

'P.S.—I received this morning the glad news that Ánushka is better, and therefore began to drink the water more joyously.'

'Spa, July 8.—I congratulate you on this triumphal day of the Russian resurrection, only I am sorry that we celebrate it apart, as well as to-morrow's day of the Holy Apostles, the namesday of your old man and the brat. God grant that these days pass quickly, and that I can be with you sooner. The water, thank God, acts well, and I hope to finish the cure in a

week from St. Peter's day. To-day I put on for the first time your camisole, and drank your health, but only very little, because it is forbidden.

'P.S.—(After acknowledging a letter and two bottles of *vodka*.)—You write that you sent little because I drank little at the waters, which is true. I do not drink altogether more than five times a day, and spirit only once or twice, and not always, partly because it is strong, and partly because it is scarce. I think that it is very tiresome that we are so near and cannot see each other. God grant soon. On finishing this I drink once to your health.'

The five days of the journey from Spa were stretched out to eight, for Peter found much to amuse and interest him at Aachen and even at Maestricht. The Dutch boats were slow, and it was August 2 when he met Catherine at Amsterdam, and found diplomatic work enough waiting for him as well. The negotiations carried on in Paris had now brought a result.

Immediately after his interview with the King the Tsar formally renewed his propositions for an alliance, and the Regent appointed Marshal de Tessé to carry on the negotiations with Shafírof, Tolstói, and Dolgorúky. Conferences took place, and notes were exchanged in which, though in bad French and abrupt style, the thought of the Tsar was plainly shown. 'Put me,' he said to France, 'instead of and in the place of Sweden. The European system has changed. Sweden half annihilated can no longer aid you; the power of the Emperor has greatly increased, and I, Tsar, want to take the place of Sweden with you. I offer you not only my alliance, but my power, and at the same time that of Prussia, without whom I could not act. Poland will not ask better than to join us, and when France, Prussia, Poland, and I, Tsar, shall be united—by me, Tsar—not only will the balance which the Swedish alliance should make for you be established, but the little grain that I put in turns the scale, and although you have made a very suitable treaty with England and Holland, what I, Tsar, propose to you is not contrary to it. Holland will find her account, and it is to her interest that the Emperor be not so powerful. England is a country so divided in itself and so variable in its plans, that if in the future it should fail you, the said Tsar

would stand in the stead of all that you can hope from Sweden. I ask for no guarantee for my conquests, but treat me the same as Sweden, since I will not only take the place of Sweden but will bring you Prussia.' The Regent felt inclined to accept with some modifications the Russian propositions, but Dubois always dissuaded him. He was afraid of being disagreeable to England. It was impossible to accept anything contrary to the provisions of previous treaties, and by treaty the subsidies had to be paid to Sweden for ten months yet. Tessé was instructed, therefore, to negotiate a simple treaty of amity and friendship with a commercial treaty based on mutual equality. As to the substitution of Russia for Sweden in a great northern alliance, it was hoped that the present treaty would lead to that result when the present obligations of France to Sweden had expired. Tessé himself says in his memoirs: 'The new Government had no other intention than to amuse the Tsar as long as he stayed without concluding anything.' Nevertheless the negotiations went on with reasonable rapidity, and during the later conferences Baron Cnyphausen, the Prussian envoy, was admitted to take part. It was suggested that as the Tsar, who knew nothing of the secret treaty already existing between France and Prussia, proposed the guarantee of Stettin for Prussia, it should be inserted, thus letting him think that it was his influence that brought it about. The French felt that they could guarantee Stettin, though not the Russian conquests, because an officer of the King of Sweden had said to Count de Croissy that this would not be an obstacle to peace.

At one time there was even a willingness to promise subsidies to Russia after the expiration of the treaty with Sweden, but it was thought best to leave the Russians in ignorance of the amount actually paid; which, it was explained, was not a mere favour but the necessary result of the treaty of Westphalia, and for that purpose Tessé was advised to make up a false treaty which would appear to be whole, yet contain only the conditions he wished to show. The Russians were told, too, that if Charles XII. continued so opposed to peace the subsidies to Sweden would no longer be paid. One thing that the French wished to secure was their mediation in the Northern war. It was not desired to leave this to England, or even

to the Emperor, lest it might increase his power. The Tsar had said to someone at Meudon: 'Well, what do you say of the King of Sweden, who is under the greatest obligations to France, and not only refuses her mediation, but proposes to me the mediation of the Emperor, and makes me these propositions at a time when he sees me determined to come to France? Well, I refused it.'

The apprehensions of the Regent about England were somewhat relieved by a conversation which Tessé had with the Russians regarding the troops in Mecklenburg. They told him that the whole thing was the effect of a cabal caused by Bernstorf, who had lands in Mecklenburg, and who had very haughtily said that he knew how to make the Tsar's troops leave Mecklenburg, and had in a way threatened the Tsar with the power of England and with that of the Emperor, upon which the Tsar, being offended, kept his troops there. They assured Tessé that there would be no trouble in withdrawing them even without a stipulation in the treaty. The Regent thought that in this way he could perhaps render himself still more agreeable to England by appearing to have procured the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Germany.

Everything was at last arranged, and the treaty was ready for signature on June 19; but the Tsar was in haste to go to Spa, and Baron Cnyphausen wished first to have an answer to a despatch, and the signature was therefore adjourned until the Tsar's return to Holland. It took place on August 15, at Amsterdam. By three secret articles the treaties of Utrecht and Baden and those which should re-establish the tranquillity of the North were guaranteed, and it was agreed that if one of the allies were attacked the others should try by peaceful means to support him. If these means were unsuccessful in the course of four months they were obliged to assist him with troops and money. The Tsar and the King of Prussia agreed to accept the mediation of the King of France for putting an end to the Northern war, but no force was to be used by France for this purpose. France also bound herself that, on the conclusion of the existing treaty with Sweden in the following April, it would enter into no new engagements with that country contrary to the interests of Russia or Prussia. An engagement

was also handed by Châteauneuf to Cnyphausen, without the knowledge of the Russians, that this treaty in no way enfeebled the anterior engagement of September, 1716, for guaranteeing Stettin. France, in another way too, played a double part, for, notwithstanding the promised secrecy, the whole negotiations were revealed to England. When the Tsar found out later (1721) that all was known in London, he complained of it, saying that if one of his own ministers were at fault he would make an example of him. Even this despatch was shown to King George, who wrote jestingly on the margin: 'The Tsar wants to impale one of his ministers, and seek a pretext.'

Admiral Norris, as an extraordinary envoy of King George, and Whitworth, the English Minister at the Hague, came just at this time to Amsterdam, and had a conference with the Russian Ministers in the house of the Chancellor Golófkin. They explained the great desire of the King for a good understanding, a commercial treaty, and the end of the war, and requested the Tsar's propositions. The Russians asked for fifteen English ships of the line to be under the full command of the Tsar, which, together with the Russian fleet, would cover an attack on the east coast of Sweden, and this every year until the Swedes were forced to make peace. Norris took this proposition to London, and it was found to be inconsistent with English usages. The matter gradually dropped. Hanover, like Denmark, thought a particular peace would bring greater advantages.

Meanwhile Prince Kurákin was engaged in still more important negotiations directly with the Swedes, which it was thought would soon lead to peace for all parties. On his arrival at the Hague from Spa at the end of July, he had three meetings with General Poniatowski, the friend and companion of Charles XII., who had seen him before at Spa; and with Pries, a secretary of legation, who had full power for this, and, with the approval of Goertz, who was still in Holland, it was agreed that both Swedes and Russians should send plenipotentiaries to a conference in the Aland Islands within two or three months. It was thought that there the negotiations would be less exposed to foreign influence, and that secrecy could be better observed. Goertz, who had been released from his im-

prisonment by the Dutch, received a passport to return to Sweden by way of Riga and Reval, and went to the Château of Loo, where the Tsar was staying, in the hopes of seeing him personally. The Tsar, out of caution, refused to allow him an interview, but the previous agreement was confirmed, and it was agreed that the French should not be initiated as yet into the secret, for, now that the Ministers of the two hostile powers were brought face to face, there was no necessity for the mediation of a third power, especially as it was known that Count de la Marck, the French ambassador at Stockholm, had instructions to try to arrange a peace for Hanover.

After excursions to Haarlem, Hoorn, Texel, and Loo, Peter left Amsterdam on September 2, and went slowly, by way of Nymegen and Cleves, to Wesel, where he left Catherine to pursue her journey at leisure. They usually separated in travelling on account of the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of horses, and because Catherine did not like to travel as quickly as her husband. He posted to Berlin, stopping a day at Magdeburg, where he met the Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburg. The Duke, finding that the Russian troops were gradually being withdrawn from Mecklenburg, had already sent Eichholtz to him at Spa, to ask that seven regiments be left. 'Does the Duke know that seven regiments make 11,000 men?' said the Tsar. He finally agreed to leave him two regiments, and promised to defend him against all who treated him unjustly, but he refused to support him against all and everyone, as he did not wish on his account to quarrel with the Emperor and the Empire. Fearing lest his own representations would not be enough, the Duke persuaded his wife to write to the Tsar. In her letter, which by an accident was shown, she had used expressions at which the Russian Ministers were very angry, and from that time on they treated the Duke with great contempt. The Duke followed Peter to Berlin, and there made great difficulties of etiquette with the Margrave of Brandenburg, and finally refused to appear at the royal dinner. His divorced wife was still contesting the legality of the proceedings in the Consistorial court of Greifswald, but had shown signs of conciliation, if the Duke should give her back her dowry and a pension, to which he would not listen. The Tsar

was angry at his obstinacy and stinginess, and, wishing to settle surely the position of his niece, gave the divorced Duchess 30,000 thalers down, and a yearly pension of 5,000 thalers, on which she acknowledged the legality of the divorce.

At Berlin Peter found the King alarmed at the talk which Ilgen had had with Goertz, who had lately passed through Brandenburg on his way to Poland and Sweden. He had revealed the agreement for negotiations with Russia, and had demanded as the price of Stettin the return of Stralsund and Rügen, Bremen and Verden, and all the Russian conquests as far as St. Petersburg. The Tsar was astonished at the high way in which Goertz had held his head, but reassured the King as to his own intentions, and promised to make no treaty without securing Stettin, the district of Peene, and the islands of Usedom and Wollin for Prussia. It was arranged that General Mardefeld should also attend the Aland conference.

Two days after Peter's arrival at Berlin, Catherine joined him, and remained with him there, or rather at Schönhausen, for four days. This was her first visit to the Prussian Court, and her person caused no little curiosity. She was well received by the Queen, and there were dinners and balls both at Berlin and Schönhausen. We have no veracious chronicle of this sojourn except a few dry lines in the Tsar's journal. Various stories were told of it in after years, some of the scandalous sort. These are repeated with variations in the celebrated *Memoirs* of the Margravine of Baireuth, who, a child of eight, with her brother Frederick,[1] was presented to the Tsar and Tsaritsa. Baron von Pöllnitz tells even worse as happening at Magdeburg. We do not cite these stories here, because there is every reason to believe them untrue, and they have already been sufficiently circulated.[2] Criticism has shown that neither the *Memoirs* of the Margravine, nor those of Pöllnitz can be considered historically veracious,[3] and, so far as we can control

[1] It brings us nearer to Peter when we remember that he fondled Frederick the Great, and that Frederick the Great was visited by Lafayette, whom many persons living recall.

[2] See Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*, book iv. vii.

[3] See J. G. Droysen. *Zur Geschichte Friedrich's I. und Friedrich Wilhelms I.* Leipzig, 1870.

these particular statements nearly every detail is untrue. The Margravine, thirty years afterwards, could not be expected to remember with accuracy what happened when she was eight years old. There can be no hesitation in saying that so much of this story is false as regards the ladies in Catherine's suite with babies in their arms. No one could maintain that Peter was perfectly chaste, but his amours, if such they could be called, were not of the intellectual or sentimental kind, and were always with persons of vulgar origin and condition. Some of these were apparently with the knowledge of his wife. He liked no allusions made to such matters. De Loss wrote to Baron Manteuffel from Copenhagen with regard to the Tsar's visit there: 'One day when the Tsar dined with the King and they were drinking more than usual, the King, wishing to jest, said: "Ah! my brother, I hear you have also a mistress." But the Tsar, not finding this joke to his taste, replied: "My brother, my harlots do not cost me much; but yours cost you thousands of crowns which you could spend in a better way." *A propos* of the Tsar's amours, I wrote from Rostock, and it is true that there was something in the Hamburg campaign, but it has no consequences, and the Tsar no longer thinks about it, and does not suffer it to be spoken of to him.'

It is mere negative proof, but none the less curious, that frequent as were the pretenders to the throne in Russia, no one ever claimed to be the son of Peter the Great, and this would certainly have been the case had the Tsar had intrigues with ladies of distinction.[1]

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[1] Golikóf; *Journal of Peter the Great;* Papers from the French archives published in *Collection* of Russian Imperial Historical Society, Vol. 34, 1881; *Memoires de la Régence*, La Haye, 1729; St. Simon, *Memoires; Lettres de Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans; Gazette de France*, 1717; *Mercure de France*, 1717; A. Vandal, *Louis XV. et Elisabeth de Russie*, Paris, 1882; P. Pierling, *La Sorbonne et la Russie*, Paris, 1882.

LXXI.

FATHER AND SON.—1716–1718.

The Tsar returned to St. Petersburg on October 20, and was met at the Palace by his two little daughters in Spanish costume, and by the two-year-old Peter, mounted on a diminutive Iceland pony. Catherine arrived the same evening.

It was quite time for the Tsar to return. The misgovernment of the country, the quarrels between the factions, and the malversations those quarrels brought to light, had reached a point that demanded vigorous and immediate measures. Everyone was trembling, and all had ready their proofs of accusation and defence. These intrigues and quarrels had immediate or remote connection with the differences between the Tsar and his son Alexis. The chief contest was between Prince Jacob Dolgorúky, the President of the Senate, and Menshikóf, and the Triumvirate, as it was called; for it was believed that during the illness of the Tsar at the end of 1715, before going abroad he had made his will leaving the succession to his youngest son Peter, and in order to be sure of its being carried out had appointed as Regents Menshikóf, who was Governor-General of St. Petersburg and had the chief command of the army; Admiral Apráxin, and his brother Count Apráxin, a leading Senator. As the interest of Menshikóf and the little Prince became thus so closely united, it was natural that the opposite party should be considered as representing the interest of Alexis. Each faction was doing its best to ruin the other by exposing their financial and political misdeeds, and the Tsar at once set on foot a searching investigation. But the affair of Alexis was at present the most serious.

From Copenhagen, on September 6, 1716, Peter had written to his son as follows:—'My Son,—I have received your two

letters of July 10 and August 10, in which you write only of your health. Wherefore I remind you by this letter.

'When I bade you good-bye, and asked you about your resolution in a certain matter, you replied always one thing: that on account of your feebleness you were not fit for the inheritance, and wished rather to go into a monastery; then I told you to think this over seriously, and to write me what resolution you had taken, for which I have waited seven months. During all that time you have written nothing whatever about this matter. Therefore now, for you have had time enough for reflection, on the receipt of this letter immediately make a resolution for the first or the second. If you take the first, do not delay more than a week. Come here, for you can still get here in time for the campaign. If you take the second, write to me where and on what day, so that I may have peace in my conscience as to what I may expect from you. Send back this courier with the final answer. If the first, when you are going to leave St. Petersburg; if the second, when you will fulfil it. I must now make sure that this be finally done, for I see that you are only wasting time in your usual do-nothingness.'

Alexis, who was at his country place, was startled into taking a resolution; came immediately to St. Petersburg, and told Menshikóf that he had decided to go to his father, and would not even need the week's delay. In fact, two days afterwards he left St. Petersburg, nominally to go to his father. He took leave of the Senate, begging one or two of his friends to continue faithful to him and to look after his interests. He was well provided with money, for he had received from Menshikóf 1,000 ducats, from the Senate 2,000 rubles, and in Riga he borrowed 5,000 ducats in gold and 2,000 in small money. Menshikóf asked him where he was going to leave Afrosinia, and Alexis replied that he was going to take her as far as Riga, and then send her back to St. Petersburg. To this Menshikóf said: 'Take her all the way with you. What does it matter?' His real purpose the Tsarévitch told but to two of his adherents. His intention was to go either to Vienna or to Rome, ask the protection of the Emperor or the Pope, and there live until the death of his father. He thought that this would occur shortly, probably within two years, and he then expected, with the aid

either reconciled to his father or some change took place. He was cautiously taken back to his inn, and a day or two afterwards sent in disguise and under guard, first to Weierburg, near Vienna, and then to the strong castle of Ehrenberg, in the valley of the Lech, in the Tyrol, a region then little visited.

The Commandant had the strictest orders to keep in the most profound secrecy this high prisoner of State, whose name was not revealed to him, but who was supposed to be a Polish or Hungarian magnate. The garrison was not to be changed nor the soldiers allowed to leave the fortress during the whole time the prisoner remained. He was to be treated with respect, and his table suitably served at the expense of the Emperor, who assigned for it 300 florins a month. Letters written or received by the prisoner were to be sent immediately to the Imperial chancery, and no stranger was to be allowed under any pretext to go near the gate or question the sentinels.

Shut in behind the walls of this fortress, Alexis for the first time felt at ease. He had with him his mistress Afrosinia, disguised as a page, whose sex was never discovered during his stay in the castle, and four servants, and was well supplied with books. His only regret was that he could not have a priest, and he begged at all events that one should be sent to him in case he were ill or at the point of death. He wrote to Count Schönborn expressing his thanks for his treatment, and received from time to time in return such news as would interest him. For instance: 'People are beginning to say that the Tsarévitch has perished. According to some he has run away from the severity of his father, according to others he has been put to death by his father's orders. Others say that while travelling he was assassinated by robbers. Nobody knows exactly where he is. I enclose as a matter of curiosity what has been written from St. Petersburg. The Tsarévitch is advised in his interest to keep himself well concealed, because active search will be made for him as soon as the Tsar's return from Amsterdam.'

Meanwhile, when the Tsarévitch did not arrive at the army headquarters, and nothing was heard of him at St. Petersburg, people began to be unquiet. Catherine wrote twice to Menshikóf asking for news of him. One of his servants, who, on Kikin's advice, had followed him, wandered vainly about North

Germany in search of him till he met the Tsaritsa at Schwerin; and at last it was found that he had gone as far as Danzig, where all traces of him were lost. The news from St. Petersburg in the letter of Count Schönborn was a copy of the despatch of Pleyer, the Austrian Resident, dated January 11. He wrote that 'as no one up to this time had shown especial attention to the Crown Prince, no one had thought much about his departure, but when the old Princess Maria, the Tsar's sister, returned from the baths and visited the farm of the Crown Prince, and began to cry, and said, "Poor orphans, who are without father or mother, how sorry I am for you!" and news besides this was received that the Tsarévitch had gone no further than Danzig, everyone began to enquire about him. Many high personages secretly sent to me and to other foreigners to ask if we had not received in our letters some news of him. Two of his servants came to me also with questions. They wept bitterly, and said that the Tsarévitch had taken here a thousand ducats for his journey, and in Danzig two thousand more, and had sent them an order to secretly sell his furniture and pay the drafts, and since then they had no news of him. Meanwhile they say in whispers that he was seized near Danzig by the Tsar's people and carried off to a distant monastery; but it is not known whether he is alive or dead. According to others he has gone to Hungary or to some other land of the Emperor, because he had last summer secretly gone to Moscow and to his mother.' After recounting a rumoured conspiracy to kill the Tsar, imprison Catherine, free Eudoxia, and entrust the Government to the Crown Prince, he adds: 'Everything is ripe here for rebellion. High and low talk of nothing else except the contempt shown to them and their children, who are all obliged to be sailors and shipbuilders, although they have been abroad to learn languages and have spent so much money; of the ruin of their property by taxes, and by their serfs being carried off to build fortresses and harbours.'

As soon as the Tsar found that his son had run away, he sent orders to General Weyde, commanding the troops in Mecklenburg, to hunt for him, and, if possible, to bring him to Mecklenburg. Abraham Veselófsky, the Tsar's Resident at Vienna, was ordered to Amsterdam, and sent back with orders to search

for him in the Emperor's dominions. Veselófsky went to work vigorously, and, from the point where the Danzig road branched off to Vienna, traced the so-called Kokhánsky from post-house to post-house up to Vienna, where all trace of him was lost. Rumiántsof, a trusty captain attached to the Tsar's person, was then sent to assist Veselófsky, with orders to seize Alexis and carry him off by force if necessary. He searched the Tyrol, found Ehrenberg, stationed himself in the vicinity, reported about the mysterious prisoner, and at last recognised him. Veselófsky, who had obtained nothing in his interview with Count Schönborn, with Prince Eugene, and with the Emperor himself, now that he felt sure that Alexis was concealed by Imperial order, presented to the Emperor a letter of the Tsar written the previous December, demanding the surrender of his son. It was already towards the end of April. The Emperor doubted the correctness of Veselófsky's information and promised to enquire and reply. A messenger was at once sent to Alexis to ask whether he still refused to return to his father, as in this case it would be necessary for him to go to Naples, his present place of refuge having been discovered. Count Volkra, the Imperial Ambassador at London, was at the same time instructed to inform himself secretly whether, in case of necessity, Alexis would be allowed to take refuge in England, but this was to be done very cautiously, as it was not desired that the incident should be used for selfish purposes by England, nor that too great fear of the Tsar should be shown. Alexis replied that he preferred anything rather than to return to his father. He was accordingly, with great secrecy, conducted through Innsbruck, Mantua, and Florence to Naples, where he was guarded in the castle of St. Elmo. The journey was made without incident, although suspicious people were several times observed. These turned out to be Rumiántsof and his companions, who soon gave the Tsar information of his son's whereabouts. It was at St. Elmo that the sex of 'our little page' was first discovered, and Schönborn was able to make jokes about Afrosinia in a letter to Prince Eugene. As soon as he arrived, Alexis wrote to the Senate and the clergy, giving reasons for running away, and begging them to disbelieve rumours of his death, but always to remember him. These letters were never

sent to their destination, but were detained in Vienna, and are still preserved in the archives there.

The Tsar now decided to send Tolstói to Vienna, as being the fittest man to deal with the case. He had travelled in earlier life, spoke Italian fluently, had been long Ambassador in Constantinople, had recently been in Paris, and was thoroughly in the Tsar's confidence. On August 9, immediately on his arrival in Vienna, Tolstói, together with Rumiántsof and Velófsky, had an audience of the Emperor, and presented the Tsar's letter of July 21, again demanding the surrender of Alexis. The Emperor promised a speedy reply. Tolstói then went to the Princess of Wolfenbüttel, the mother of the Empress and the mother-in-law of Alexis, who happened to be then in Vienna, showed her a copy of the Tsar's letter to his son from Copenhagen, and begged her to use her influence to induce him to return. This she was ready to do, for she had the interests of her grandchildren at heart, and feared lest the Tsar's curse should rest upon them also and exclude them from the throne. Tolstói was vigilant and active both with threats and bribes, and the Imperial Council decided that under the circumstances it was necessary to allow him to have an interview with Alexis. But instructions were sent to the Viceroy that the Tsarévitch was not to be forced to an interview, and that all precautions were to be taken that the Russians made no attack upon him. Tolstói and Rumiántsof then set out, but were so detained by rains and floods that they arrived at Naples only on October 5. The Viceroy was gained by Tolstói's plausibility, and, fearing lest the Tsarévitch might refuse to receive them, invited him to his palace and allowed them to be suddenly introduced. Alexis was in great terror, especially at the sight of Rumiántsof, who, he knew, had discovered his retreat at Ehrenberg, and evidently feared that they would kill him on the spot. Tolstói was all that was most amiable, promised pardon for the past in case he would return, and handed him a letter of his father, dated at Spa, July 21:—'My son,—It is known to everyone how you have been disobedient and what contempt you have shown me, and how neither words nor punishments have been able to make you follow my orders; at last deceiving me and calling God to witness at your taking

leave of me. What have you done? You have run away and have put yourself, like a traitor, under foreign protection—an unheard-of thing. By this affront what grief you have caused your father, and what shame your country! I therefore send now this last message to you that you may act according to my will, as Mr. Tolstói and Mr. Rumiántsof will tell you. If you submit to me, I assure you—and I promise by God and His judgment—that you shall have no punishment, but I will show you my best love if you are obedient and return. But if you refuse, then, as a father, by the power given to me by God, I curse you eternally; and, as your sovereign, I declare you a traitor, and I shall leave unused no means of punishing you as a traitor and a reviler of your father; in which may God help me in my right! Remember, besides, that I have done nothing to you forcibly, and if you only would, all would have been according to your will. What you wish, that do.'

Alexis said that he had come to put himself under the protection of the Emperor in order to escape the wrath of his father, who wished to put him in a monastery and deprive him of the crown. As to his return, he refused to answer then, but promised to think of it. Two days afterwards there was another interview, and Alexis said that it was dangerous to return to his father, upon which Tolstói threatened that the Tsar would take him dead or alive as a traitor; that he had orders to remain there until he got hold of him, and if he were taken to another place he would follow. Alexis took the Viceroy into the next room, grasped him by the hand, and begged him for the assurance of the Emperor's continued protection in case his father wished to seize him by force; that he dared not return to Russia. All these interviews affected Alexis, who became nervous and ill. Meanwhile Tolstói, who began to despair of success, was not idle. A secretary of the Viceroy, the habitual messenger to the castle, was bought for 160 gold ducats, with the promise of more, to insinuate to Alexis that the protection of the Emperor would be withdrawn.

The bribed secretary did his work so well that Alexis sent a note to Tolstói begging him to come alone. The interview was held this time in the Castle of St. Elmo, and, as the Viceroy was not present, Tolstói took a high tone and said

to the Tsarévitch that he had just received a letter from the Tsar saying that he intended to seize his son by force of arms; that his troops in Poland would take up winter quarters in Silesia, while he himself went to Italy. He even took a compassionate tone towards Alexis, as now being utterly unable to escape. The threat of his father's speedy arrival, absurd as it was, greatly affected the unreasoning Alexis, and after a moment's thought he said: 'I will go to my father on condition that I may be allowed to live in the country, and that Afrosinia be not taken away from me. Come to-morrow with Rumiántsof, and I will give you my answer.' Tolstói had found the vital point. He had noticed how much Alexis was in love with Afrosinia, and he thereupon persuaded the Viceroy to order her to be removed from the castle. The order was sent, but Alexis begged that it be postponed till morning. In the meantime Afrosinia also worked upon him, and kept him from deciding to take refuge in the Papal States. At the interview the next day Alexis took Tolstói into an adjoining room, conversed with him in the presence of the disguised Afrosinia, and then, returning, declared, to the astonishment of the Imperial officers, that he was ready to go to Russia; but begged Tolstói to intercede with his father to allow him to marry Afrosinia (who was four months pregnant) before arriving at St. Petersburg. This Tolstói approved, and wrote on the subject to the Tsar and to Shafírof, saying that it would be a good way to discredit the Tsarévitch, as it would show that he left the country, not on account of any fear that he had, but simply for the sake of the girl, and would, besides, take from him the sympathy of the Emperor. Alexis had before said to one of his friends that he intended to marry Afrosinia: 'You see, my father has acted in the same way.' He immediately wrote to his father tendering his submission and reminding him of his promise of forgiveness. Peter replied, November 28: 'You ask for pardon. It has already been promised to you verbally by Messrs. Tolstói and Rumiántsof, and I now confirm it, of which be fully assured. Mr. Tolstói has also written to us with regard to certain desires of yours, which will be allowed to you here.' To Tolstói Peter replied that the marriage would be allowed if his son still wished it when he returned,

but it would be better that it should take place either in Riga or some Russian town, or even in Curland in the house of the Duchess, as it would bring shame to have the rite performed in a foreign country, and told him to assure his son again, in the strongest terms, that when he returned he would be allowed to live where he pleased, in one of his country places. 'Perhaps he may doubt whether he will be allowed, but let him reason. When I have pardoned such a great crime, why should I not allow this little matter?' He did not mention the word marriage to his son, as his son had not mentioned it to him.

Alexis having expressed in a letter to the Emperor his desire to return to Russia, there could be no longer question of detaining him. As was natural after so long an imprisonment, voluntary though it was, the Tsarévitch felt in no mood for travelling quickly. He first made an excursion with Tolstói to Bari, to venerate the relics of the great St. Nicholas; then remained for some time in Rome, where he visited the shrines, in the carriage of Cardinal Paulucci, the Secretary of State, and was shown over the Vatican and given a breakfast there by Don Carlo Albani, and was even received by the Pope.

While at Venice, Alexis was persuaded to separate from Afrosinia, whose health demanded slow stages of travel. When near Venice, Tolstói begged Veselófsky to meet him secretly at Nussdorf, in order to ascertain the exact position of affairs. The result of this was that the party remained but one night in Vienna, and that secretly, and hurried on to Brunn, for Alexis had insisted on seeing and thanking the Emperor, and Tolstói feared that he might decide to remain. When the Emperor heard this he was indignant, for it seemed as if Tolstói were taking the Tsarévitch away against his will. While the Austrians wished nothing so much as to be well rid of the uncomfortable guest, the dignity of the Empire must be respected, and no arbitrary proceedings could be allowed. A Cabinet council was called, and Count Colloredo, the Governor of Moravia, was ordered to insist upon an interview with the Tsarévitch and ascertain his real wish. Tolstói denied that Alexis was with him, refused to allow him to be seen, chose to consider his detention as an arrest, and threatened the vengeance of his

master. On a subsequent order from Vienna, Count Colloredo informed Tolstói that they could not leave Brunn until he had seen the Tsarévitch, even if it were necessary for him to employ force. Tolstói then permitted an interview, but he and Rumiántsof both kept close to Alexis, who was evidently in terror of them, and who replied only in monosyllables, accepting the greeting of the Emperor, and excusing himself for not calling on the ground of having no carriage or good clothes and being in great haste. The forms of duty had now been complied with, and permission for departure was granted. Tolstói, who only a few hours before had said that under the circumstances he could not now leave without new instructions from St. Petersburg, ordered post-horses and was gone at once. The Emperor was offended at Tolstói's conduct, and sent a letter of complaint to the Tsar, which for a long time, under various pretexts, he refused to receive. When at last he answered it, he relieved Tolstói of the blame, and threw it all on his son, who had acted in this rude and impolite way.

The Tsarévitch was safely brought to Riga on January 21, where Tolstói left him to proceed to the Tsar; and, on February 2, Alexis arrived in Iver to wait until he should be summoned by his father to Moscow.

Afrosinia, as we have said, had remained behind at Venice, intending to travel leisurely to Berlin, where she was to await her confinement. We still possess their correspondence, and the letters of Alexis show an ardent love for her, and an unexpected care for her comfort. 'Do not trouble yourself. Take care of yourself on the road; go slowly, because the road in the Tyrol is stoney, as you know. Stop where you want as many days as you like. Do not consider the money expense. Even if you spend much, your health is dearer to me than all.' He writes from Innsbruck: 'Buy either here or somewhere else a good comfortable carriage,' gives her directions about her health and the best place of making up medicines either in Venice or Bologna. He is troubled that her singers have confused their calendar, and writes from Vienna telling Sudakóf, 'who, living the wild life of a deer, has forgotten' that December 1 is the eighth melody, wherefore he can know what to sing; and congratulates her on the feast of St. Nicholas. He writes to

the servants, sometimes caressingly, and sometimes in sharp and coarse language, to take care of her and amuse her. When he goes to Russia his first care is to send her some women-servants and a priest. His last letter from Iver says: 'Thank God, all is well, and I expect to be rid of everything so as to live with you, if God allow, in the country, where we will not have trouble about anything. As soon as I arrive I will write you all in detail. Do not believe, my friend, any news about my arrival until you get my letters, for what is printed in the German newspapers is very false.' The replies of Afrosinia show forth the ignorant, vulgar woman, occupied with the practical side of life. Her desires to amuse herself appeared to be stronger than her love for him. A few lines only of her letters are in her own writing, on account of her health, she says. She tells him of the purchase of fine stuffs and jewelry to a good round sum that she has made in Venice, how she missed the opera and the comedy, but went in a gondola to hear the church music, how she has been ordered to be bled, and asks how much blood she shall lose. From Müremberg she thanks him for his letter with 'the unspeakably delightful news' of their approaching marriage, and how they all rejoiced over it. From Berlin there is a much longer letter thanking him for his present of the images of the Saviour and St. Nicholas, and asking for a long list of Russian delicacies; caviarl, buckwheat-groats, herrings, and smoked fish of various kinds. She arrived in St. Petersburg towards the end of April, and was at once arrested and imprisoned in the fortress, where her confinement took place. But of this, or of the fate of the child, we can learn nothing.

The news of the return of Alexis caused conflicting feelings. There was great joy at Court, but many regretted that the Tsarévitch had not remained abroad. 'The clergy and the proprietors,' wrote Pleyer in January, 1718, 'are all devoted to the Tsarévitch, and greatly delighted that he has found an asylum in the lands of the Emperor. The common people have frequently, on seeing the Tsarévitch, thrown themselves on the ground and begged God's blessing on his head.' He mentions a curious episode. The Tsar asked the Metropolitan Yavórsky what he thought of the flight of the Tsarévitch. The Metro-

politan answered: 'He has nothing to do here; probably he will instruct himself abroad.' The Tsar looked sharply at the ecclesiastic, and remarked: 'If you say that to me for consolation, it is well; if not, that is a speech worthy of Mazeppa.' The Metropolitan was so frightened that he fell ill. Both Weber and La Vie say: 'The arrival of the Tsarévitch caused as much joy to some as grief to others. Those who took his part were glad before his return, in the hope that some revolution would take place. Now all is changed. Policy takes the place of discontent, and everything is quiet while waiting for the result of the affair. His return is generally disapproved, for it is believed that he will have the same fate as his mother. He is blamed because before his return he did not insist on the abolition of the testament made in favour of his brother, knowing very well that it still exists, and that even if the young Prince of the second bed should die, the Tsar wishes to declare as his successor a Naryshkin, after marrying him to one of his daughters.' Some expressed their opinion strongly. Ivan Naryshkin said: 'That Judas of a Peter, Tolstói, has deceived the Tsarévitch.' Others said that Tolstói had drugged him. Prince Basil Dolgorúky said to Prince Gagárin: 'Have you heard that that fool of a Tsarévitch is coming here because his father has allowed him to marry Afrosinia? He will have a coffin instead of a wedding! The devil take it! They all deceive him purposely!'

At nine o'clock on the morning of February 14 there was a solemn assembly of all the dignitaries, temporal and spiritual, in the great audience hall of the Kremlin. Three battalions of the Preobrazhénsky regiment surrounded the palace with loaded muskets. After the Tsar had taken his place on the throne Alexis was introduced as a prisoner, without his sword, accompanied by Tolstói. He went directly to his father, and, weeping bitterly, threw himself on his knees and begged pardon for his crimes. The Tsar immediately ordered him to rise, while a written paper signed by him was read, confessing his wickedness and begging only that his life might be spared. The Tsar then made a discourse, in which he pointed out all the offences of the Tsarévitch, the care which had been taken with his education, his neglect of his father's commands, his

treatment of his wife, his relations with Afrosinia, and, finally, his desertion from the army and flight to a foreign court. He ended in a loud voice, so that all could hear, that the Tsarévitch had been able to reply nothing to the accusations against him, but begged only for pardon and his life, and did not wish for the inheritance. He therefore assured him of his pardon on condition that he revealed all who had been his accomplices. At these words the Tsarévitch attempted to speak, but the Tsar stopped him, and immediately afterwards Dumashéf read a printed manifesto reciting the offences of the Tsarévitch and the pardon granted to him, proclaiming him disinherited and declaring the Tsarévitch Peter Petróvitch as heir to the throne. From the palace the whole assembly immediately went to the Cathedral of the Assumption, where Alexis, with Gospel in hand, took oath before the relics to bear faithful allegiance, in case of his father's death, to the new heir, and never in any way to attempt to regain the succession for himself. A similar oath was also taken by all present. The Tsar, accompanied by his ministers and generals, as well as by Alexis, then went to Preobrazhénsky, where they had a great banquet and 'made merry.' That evening the manifesto was published to the world, and for three days all people were invited to the Cathedral to swear to the new oath of allegiance.[1] One man, a certain Dokúkin, a former official, dared to hand to the Tsar in the church his protest against the act of disinheritment.

The pardon had been promised absolutely and without condition, but now the condition was made that Alexis should immediately declare who were his advisers and accomplices, and should not conceal even the least circumstance of what had happened. In reply to the list of questions drawn up by his father and copied by Tolstói, Alexis presented a rambling narrative of his life during the last few years, mentioning a large number of persons with whom he had had conversations about himself and the state of affairs in Russia, or who were privy to his flight. The Princess Maria Alexéievna, the Tsar's half sister; General Simeon Narýshkin, the Prince of Siberia; Abraham Lopúkhin, the uncle of Alexis; Viázemsky, his teacher;

[1] Letter of Nestérof to Menshikóf, February, 4–15, 1718, in *Old and New Russia*, ii., 200, 1876.

INTERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL OF THE ASSUMPTION, MOSCOW

Ignátief, his confessor; Athanásief, his servant, and many others, were at once arrested. St. Petersburg was placed in a state of siege. No one was allowed under any pretext to leave the city; restrictions were placed even on the peasants coming to market, lest people might escape concealed in their sledges. Apothecaries were forbidden to sell arsenic and other poisons, for which there was a sudden demand. Alexander Kikin, the Commissary of the Admiralty and a former confidant of the Tsar, whose peculations had been pardoned only two years before at the intercession of Catherine, was arrested at midnight in his dressing-gown and slippers, fettered, and chained to the wall till he could be sent to Moscow. He had been warned of the danger by Baklanófsky, one of the confidential orderlies, who stood behind the Tsar, read a letter over his shoulder, and at once despatched a courier. Not even in his own household could the Tsar be sure of fidelity. It must have given Menshikóf especial pleasure to arrest his arch-enemy Prince Basil Dolgorúky, the Grand Inquisitor, who had so nearly ruined him two years before, and who had just accompanied the Tsar abroad and was high in his confidence.

Peter himself, with great coolness, conducted the whole proceedings, was present at the inquisitions, and sometimes at the tortures. As the investigation went on, new persons were daily arrested, and the trial took great dimensions. Finally there appeared among the accused Peter's repudiated wife, Eudoxia. She was arrested on account of her intercourse with Alexis, but it soon became apparent that she had in no way conformed to the rules of the convent in which she was immured as the nun Helena, had assumed a secular habit and the state of a princess, and had had for a long time an amorous intrigue with a Major Gliébof.[1] Eudoxia and Gliébof confessed their intimacy, and the former Tsaritsa begged for pardon in a letter in which she said: 'I throw myself at your feet. I ask your pardon for my crime. Do not make me die before my time. Let me return to a convent, where I shall pray to God for you till my last day. Your former wife, Eudoxia.' The Tsar seemed to lay more stress on the political

[1] This was some years previous, and it is difficult to believe that the state of things in the convent at Suzdal was wholly unknown at St. Petersburg.

bearing and what he thought a conspiracy than on the offence to his honour. The Bishop of Rostof, Dositheus, then in great repute, was accused of having prophesied the death of the Tsar, and of having publicly prayed in church for Eudoxia. While being degraded before being tortured, he said to his brother bishops: 'Am I then the only guilty one in this affair? Look into your own hearts, all of you. What do you find there? Listen to what is spoken among the people—a name I will not pronounce.' Torture, however, drew nothing from him except the vague acknowledgment of expressions of sympathy. No act of open rebellion could be proved. But, as often happens, the Autocrat was angrier at sentiments of vague and general discontent than at expressions of open disapproval. The Council of Ministers, constituted as a high court of justice, rendered a decision in the last days of March. Kikin, Gliébof, and the Bishop Dositheus were condemned to cruel death, many others to simple death, far more to forced labor and to exile in Siberia, after being publicly whipped. Some women were sent to the convents of the White Sea; others were publicly whipped. The Tsaritsa Eudoxia was sent to a convent at Old Ládoga, near Schlüsselburg, where she lived till the accession of her grandson, Peter II.[1]

The Princess Maria was imprisoned in Schlüsselburg until 1721, when she was allowed to return to her house in St. Petersburg, where she died in 1723. Gliébof, after having been tortured by the knout, by red-hot irons, by burning coals, was fastened for three days upon a plank with wooden spikes, and, as he confessed nothing more, was impaled, and died the next day. The Bishop of Rostof was broken on the wheel and beheaded; his body was burned, and his head fixed on a stake. Alexander Kikin was treated in the same way. He was tortured slowly, at intervals, so that he might suffer more. The second day the Tsar passed by him. Kikin was still living on the wheel, and begged the Tsar to pardon him and allow him to become a monk. His head was at once cut off, and exposed on a stake. Dokúkin, who had protested against the oath of

[1] In 1728, on the accession of Alexis's son, Peter II., the Tsaritsa Eudoxia was released, and lived at the Maidens' Convent at Moscow, occasionally appearing at court. She died in 1731, in the reign of the Empress Anne.

allegiance to the Tsarévitch Peter, died the death of a martyr; he was tortured three times, and afterwards broken on the wheel, constantly declaring that he was willing to suffer all for the word of Christ.

The Prince of Siberia was exiled to Archangel. Simeon Naryshkin was sent to live on his most distant estate. Prince Basil Dolgorúky was saved from death on the intercession of his relatives, and especially of Prince Jacob Dolgorúky, who recalled the eminent services of the family, and especially how two of them had lost their lives in the rebellion of the Streltsi. He was deprived of all his honours and dignities, and was exiled to Solikámsk, but was pardoned in 1724, on the occasion of Catherine's coronation, and given the rank of Colonel. By Peter II. he was made a Field Marshal.[1] Abraham Lopúkhin was subsequently re-examined, and, together with Ignátief and some others, was executed in December. Their bodies were exposed on wheels and their heads on stakes for three months. Count Peter Apráxin, the Admiral's brother, and the Senator Samárin, were acquitted and released. On the great square before the Kremlin, where the executions took place, a quadrangular scaffold of white stone was erected, six ells high and fronted with iron stakes, on which the heads were placed. On the top was a stone an ell square, where the bodies of those punished were heaped up, that of Gliébof on the top. Many of the heads of the persons executed in 1698, after the rebellion of the Streltsi, were still exposed on the walls of Moscow, and a petition was presented to the Tsar by their relatives during this inquisition to remove and bury them.

'Now comes the question,' writes Weber, 'What shall be done further with the Tsarévitch? It is said that he is going to be sent to a very distant monastery. This does not seem to me probable, for the further the Tsar removes him the greater opportunity does he give to the restless mob to take measures for liberating him. I think that he will be brought here again, and kept in the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg. I will not

[1] His decorations of the Elephant of Denmark and the White Eagle of Poland were sent back to the Governments that had presented them. In the same way the Polish envoy reclaimed the decoration of the White Eagle belonging to Kikin.

decide here whether the Tsar is right or wrong to exclude him from the succession and give him his paternal curse. This is sure, that the clergy, the nobility, and the common people respect the Tsarévitch like a god, and everybody understands that after the death of the Tsar his will will have the same fate as that of Louis XIV.'

Peter returned to St. Petersburg in a gloomy frame of mind. The results of the trial had not appeased his feelings as a father, nor dispelled the suspicions which haunted him as a sovereign. Nothing treasonable was proved, nothing which connected his son with a conspiracy. Alexis was given apparent liberty, and was installed in a house near the palace. Meanwhile every effort was made at Vienna to procure copies of the letters which he had written from St. Elmo to the Senate and the bishops, and which were still in the hands of the Imperial Government. It was thought that something would be found in them which would give the cue to the mystery which would expose the conspiracy. Alexis hoped now to be left in peace, and at Easter, when congratulating his step-mother, he fell at her feet and begged her to hasten his marriage with Afrosinia. Of this, however, there was no more to be questioned. When Afrosinia returned to Russia she was immediately arrested and imprisoned in the fortress. In the middle of May Peter made an excursion to his new country residence of Peterhof, which Leblond was building on the shore of the Gulf of Finland. He took Alexis with him, for he could not leave him out of his sight, and Afrosinia was conveyed thither in a covered barque. Here both of them were examined and cross-examined by the Tsar in person. Afrosinia was not tortured. Even without that she confessed all that she knew, recounted all the particularities of the daily life of her lover during the whole time that they had lived together, especially during their stay abroad, all his expressions of discontent, every word or act that might be deemed treasonable and that was calculated to excite still further the suspicion of the Tsar. Among her effects were found the copy of Pleyer's despatch and the draft of one of the letters written by Alexis from St. Elmo. Her revelations were deemed sufficient. She was confronted with Alexis, and in face of what she had said the Tsarévitch could do nothing but con-

fess. She received the reward of her service. She alone of all who were implicated in the affair was released without torture or further difficulty, and lived the rest of her life quietly in St. Petersburg, where she married an officer of the guard.

The case was now strong enough. Alexis was arrested and confined in the fortress. The Tsar issued a manifesto, drawn up by his own hand, in which he recited the certainties which had been arrived at during the investigation, the deception practised by his son in his previous depositions, and concluded that, as the pardon promised him had been on condition only of a full and sincere confession, it was no longer valid. The bishops and clergy were called upon to indicate to a father what he ought to do with regard to the criminal violation of all laws, and asked the ecclesiastical tribunals to take his place in judging this Absalom. The bishops endeavoured to evade the question, and in their reply brought many examples from both the Old and the New Testament to show that such a case should be judged by the secular, and not the ecclesiastical, courts. They showed that if the Tsar wished to punish his son he had authority from the Bible, and if he deigned to pardon him he had the example and precepts of Christ, especially as set forth in the parable of the Prodigal Son. A second manifesto was then issued to the Ministers, the Senate, and the military and civil functionaries, ordering them to judge his son without feebleness, as well as without flattery, but not to fear his displeasure if they found his offences deserving of slight punishment. On June 28 the High Court of Justice assembled, composed of 127 members, senators, ministers, officers of the guard, and most of those who were personally devoted to the Tsar. On the 30th the torture was applied in the usual way to the Tsarévitch, and he received twenty-five blows of the knout. On July 2 he was required to write answers to some further questions proposed by his father. Tolstói—the terrible Tolstói, who had overcome him at Naples—was charged with the whole investigation, and the wretched Alexis was ready to confess to anything, even that he would have been ready to head a rebellion during his father's lifetime. On July 5 torture was again applied, and the Tsarévitch received fifteen blows. But he was exhausted, and little or nothing more could be obtained from him. That same even-

ing the high court assembled and declared the Tsarévitch culpable of having deposed falsely, of having concealed his attempts, premeditated long before, against the throne, and even against the life of his father, of having put his hope in the populace, of having desired the death of his sovereign, and plotted the ruin of his country, of his lord and father, with the aid of foreign arms. Unanimously and without discussion it condemned him to death. Loss, the Saxon envoy, relates that Alexis begged Tolstói to let him embrace his mistress and take a last leave of her before his head was cut off or he was immured in prison for life. Peter was in great perplexity. He could not bring himself to sign the sentence, and at the same time he believed that his plans and the work of his life would be ruined if his son ever came to the throne. In spite of the sentence of death, Alexis was again interrogated. The next morning he was asked whether the extracts which he had made from Baronius, about the punishments inflicted on sovereigns who had attacked the Church, were intended to be distributed among the people. To this he replied that he had made them only as memoranda for himself. On July 7 there was a new interrogatory, attended by torture, in the presence of the Tsar and most members of the court, which lasted for three hours. Alexis was taken back to his cell very weak. In the afternoon his feebleness increased; he sent for his father, asked forgiveness for everything, and that the curse upon him might be removed. Amid the tears of all present his father pardoned him and bade him farewell. Subsequently he took the Communion, and at six o'clock he expired, before his father, who had already received intelligence that he was dying, and had started for the fortress, was able to reach him.

It would appear to us that propriety, if not decency, demanded that a proper respect should have been paid by Peter to his dead son, even were he criminal. The day after the death of Alexis was the anniversary of the battle of Poltáva. The festivity was not postponed, but the day was celebrated in the usual manner in the presence of the Tsar, ending with a banquet and a ball. That evening the body of the Tsarévitch was transferred from the cell where he died to the house of the governor, and on the next day to the Church of the Trinity,

where it was exposed to public view, with face and right hand uncovered as customary in Russia, so that all who wished could kiss it and bid him farewell. The subsequent day, July 10, was the birthday of the Tsar. A new vessel, the *Liesna*, designed by him, was launched at the Admiralty. Peter assisted at the ceremony with all his Ministers. On the next evening, July 11, the body of the Tsarévitch was buried by the side of his wife in the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, within the fortress, with the usual pomp, in the presence of the Tsar, the Tsaritsa, and of the Ministers and high officers of State. No one, except a few ladies, wore mourning, though only just before this the whole Court was in mourning for the death of the Tsarévna Catherine Alexéievna, who, unlike her sister Maria, had been a partisan of the Tsar. The preacher chose for his text, 'Oh Absalom, my son, my son!' Peter is said to have wept bitterly. The Foreign Ministers were not invited to the funeral, and were told not to wear mourning, as the Tsarévitch had died a criminal.[1]

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[1] The following contemporaneous versions of his death are known:—1. A relation, apparently authentic, kept in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, giving a detailed account of the funeral, simply states: 'June 26, seven o'clock in the evening, the Tsarévitch Alexis Petróvitch died at St. Petersburg.' 2. The business diary of Menshikóf, giving details of the way the day was spent, says, among other things, that Menshikóf was at the fortress, where he met the Tsar, then went to the Tsarévitch Alexis, who was very ill, and remained there half-an-hour, etc., etc. 'The day was clear and bright, with a light wind. On that day the Tsarévitch Alexis Petróvitch passed from this world into the eternal life.' 3. The day-book of the St. Petersburg garrison says that on the morning of June 26, in the presence of the Tsar and others, torture was inflicted. On whom is not said. 'The same day, at six o'clock in the evening, the Tsarévitch Alexis Petróvitch, who was under guard in the Trubetskóï bastion, died.' 4. Weber, the Hanoverian Resident, reports: 'The Tsarévitch has died from a stroke of apoplexy.' 5. La Vie, the French Commercial Agent, reports in the same way the death of Alexis as natural. 6. Pleyer, the Austrian Resident, reported to the Emperor that Alexis died from a stroke of apoplexy, and three days after wrote to Count Schönborn that it was reported and generally believed that he died not from apoplexy, but from the sword or axe. 7. The Dutch Resident, De Bie, reported that he died from having his veins opened. 8. The memoirs of Peter Henry Bruce, published in London in 1782, make out that he, Bruce, was present at the death of Alexis during the night from poison administered by Weide, which he had himself procured at the apothecary's. No such person as Bruce was in Russia at this time, and his memoirs, where they are not

The Tsar thus announced the death of his son to foreign powers: 'When we remained undecided between our feelings of paternal pity and the duty of guaranteeing the future of our Empire, Almighty God, in his justice charged himself to spare us this trial. He put an end yesterday to the days of our son Alexis. After the reading of the judgment which enumerated his crimes, this culpable son was struck by a cruel malady, quite similar at the beginning to an attack of apoplexy. Subsequently, having recovered consciousness and taken the sacrament, according to Christian rite, he asked for us. We went to him with our Ministers and senators. He then confessed freely all his crimes, addressed us with tears of repentance and solicited our pardon, which we paternally granted to him, after which he made a Christian end this same day, June 26 (July 7), towards six o'clock in the evening.'

As was very natural, the official version of the death of Alexis was not received with confidence by the common people. What they thought may be seen from the papers of the secret tribunal of Preobrazhénsky. In 1721 the priest Ignátief said: 'I have heard that the Tsar called together into the Senate the archbishops, and many other people, and told them to judge the Tsarévitch for disobedience, and that then the Tsarévitch came into the room and did not take off his hat before the Tsar, and said: "Why should I, father, be judged by you? I am always to blame before you," and went away. The Tsar said: "See, Holy Fathers, how children respect their parents!" The Tsar then went home, and beat the Tsarévitch with a club till he died. Twice have people wished to kill the Tsar, but each time unclean spirits told him of it.' In the affair of the

made up from already published documents, are false and fictitious. 9. A letter purporting to be by Alexander Rumiántsof, dated July 27, 1718, to Dimítri Ivánovitch Titóf, says that he himself, together with Buturlín, Tolstói, and Ushakóf, smothered the Tsarévitch with pillows. This letter is undoubtedly a forgery of later date. It contains several errors of fact—among others mentions the execution of Lopúkhin as having already taken place. No such person as Titóf is known. In any case, the stories of Bruce and Rumiántsof cannot both be true. 10. Lamberty, in *Mémoires pour Servir, etc.*, xi., p. 162, states, on the authority of a distinguished Russian, that the Tsar himself cut off the head of Alexis. We know that the Tsar was not present at his death. All other versions have been taken from one of these sources.

joiner Korolók, in the same year, it was said: 'While the Tsar is well, the Tsaritsa will also remain alive; but if he dies, then the Tsaritsa and the serene Prince Menshikóf will die also. Even now many people have told the Prince (Peter Alexéievitch) that by the plotting of the Tsaritsa, the Tsar beat the Tsarévitch to death with a knout with his own hands, and that the Tsaritsa (God knows who she is; she washed shirts for the Finns) persuaded the Tsar to this by saying: "When you are dead I shall be killed by your son." The Tsar, listening to her, beat the Tsarévitch with his own hands with a knout, so that he died.'

Two foreign representatives, Pleyer, the Austrian Resident, and De Bie, the Dutch Resident, got into great trouble for their conduct in this affair. In consequence of Pleyer's despatch, a copy of which had been sent to Alexis at Ehrenberg, his recall was asked for. It was at first refused by the Emperor, but after some months he asked to be relieved, left Russia and retired to Danzig for a time, whence he still continued sending reports derived from his correspondents in Russia.

The Report of De Bie, giving an account of the death of the Tsarévitch, was opened and read at the post-office, and he was thereupon arrested, his papers seized, and he was subjected to an interrogatory. Although he was finally released, he was also compelled to leave the country, and was appointed by the Dutch Government Resident at Stockholm.[1]

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[1] Golikóf, VII.; Soloviéf, XVII.; Ustriálof, VI.; Esipóf and Pogódin, *Collection of Documents*, etc.; E. Herrmann, *Peter der Grosse und der Zarewitsch Alexei;* Despatches of Loss in Saxon Archives; *Collection of Imperial Russian Historical Society*, XX.; Despatch of La Vie in French Archives, id. XXXIV.; Despatch of De Bie in Dutch Archives; Weber, *Das Veränderte Russland;* E. Melchior de Vogué, *Le Fils de Pierre le Grand*, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1880; A. Brückner, *Der Zarewitsch Alexei*, Heidelberg, 1880.

LXXII.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM AND ITS OBSTACLES.—1711—1724.

Every time that the Tsar returned from a prolonged absence he found the administration of Russia in such a state that it was necessary to begin at once a series of trials and executions. The contrast, in this respect, between Russia and Sweden is striking. The King was absent from Sweden for fourteen years, communication with him was often difficult and interrupted, the country suffered greatly from the war, yet the regular machinery of government went on as before. In Russia, on the contrary, if the Tsar were away for a year or less, the administration became thoroughly disorganised. So far Peter had succeeded in pulling down better than in building up. He had set about this latter task several times, and now that the war was practically finished, it was necessary for him to be in earnest over it. In order to understand the state of affairs when the Tsar returned from Paris, we must go back for a few years and trace the course of the civil administration. As the negotiations for peace will still go on slowly for three years, we can the more readily turn from foreign to internal affairs.

The Senate, as we remember, was created by the Tsar on the eve of the campaign of the Pruth, in order to take his place in the internal administration of the country, and to govern during his absence. In its hands were concentrated all the powers of government of every kind. As was natural, things did not at once work smoothly. Ramodanófsky, the Governor of Moscow, had a bitter quarrel with the Senate for usurping his powers and interfering with his jurisdiction—a quarrel ending only with his death in 1713. His successor, Soltykóf, having been appointed through the influence of the

senators, succeeded better; but he in turn got into a quarrel with his vice-governor and had to be changed, and under his successor Dolgorúky the disputes with the Senate began again. The Governor of Kazán complained that, while the Senate interfered in everything, it had not sufficient knowledge on which to base its decisions. His provinces were too heavily taxed because they were thought to be rich, and they had now become so poor that it was with difficulty anything could be got from them. The Tsar himself complained bitterly of the waste of time. He wrote frequent letters to 'Messieurs the Senate,' scolding them as one would a child or a careless servant. He reminds them of their oath of office, he tells them that they have made themselves a laughing-stock, once expresses the suspicion that they have been bribed, and threatens to hold them to strict accountability on his return. He tells them that 'loss of time is like death, as hard to return as a life that is ended.' He orders them while in session not to converse about matters not pertaining to the service, especially not to have idle talk or jests, 'for the Senate represents the person of his Majesty.' Nothing was to be done except with the consent of the whole Senate, and nothing transacted at home or privately. Everything must be written out and recorded, and no outsiders must be introduced into the Senate. The slowness of business in other departments of the Government naturally affected that of the Senate. Decrees frequently remained unattended to. In order to prevent this, Basil Zótof was in 1715 appointed a General Inspector of Decrees. It was his duty to watch over their execution and see that there were no delays. Three years later we find him complaining that the Senate pays no attention to his remonstrances, destroys his reports, transacts business without him, and does not hold regular sessions nor keep registers of all the business; that the returns are neither properly nor regularly sent from the provinces, that fines and forfeitures are not collected, that in three years nearly a million and a half of rubles remain unpaid, that fines had been imposed to the amount of 31,657 rubles, of which 3,368 only had been received, the rest having been either postponed, remitted, or not collected. Probably the Senate would not have done even as well as this, had not Prince Jacob Dolgorúky been appointed

first Senator in 1712, and had he not immediately, so to speak, taken possession of that body. We remember the curious reports of his mission to France in 1687.[1] He had been taken prisoner at the battle of Narva, and had after eleven years succeeded in escaping from Sweden. Shrewd, crafty, of violent prejudices, obstinate, and strong-willed, he could not but impose himself on his weaker colleagues, if only by force of lungs. Menshikóf was the only man who dared face him. Frank to an excess, he dared tell the truth to the Tsar, on many occasions when the truth was disagreeable. Many amusing anecdotes are told of his obstinacy.

An important change was made in the constitution and sphere of the Senate in 1718 by the institution of colleges, or, as we call them, boards of commissioners. The division of business among the old *Prikazes* or departments had come about a good deal by chance. Through the general changes, especially through the interference of the Senate, these departments had fallen into confusion, and business had been transferred at will from one to the other. This created additional delay. It was necessary to find something to take their place. Naturally, in the present turn of affairs, the first question was, How are these things done abroad? and in Stockholm and Vienna the business of the State was managed by colleges. This idea was proposed to the Tsar as long ago as 1698 by Dr. Francis Lee, but no particular attention had been paid to his proposals. In 1715 Heinrich Fick, formerly in the service of the Duke of Holstein, who had been recommended by Bassewitz to General Weyde, was secretly sent to Sweden to obtain accurate information of the constitution and working of the colleges in that country. He sent a series of reports, which were for a long time accredited to Leibnitz, who certainly had the same general idea, and had indeed, although a year later, proposed it to the Tsar. In one of these reports the functions of the colleges are compared to the works of a watch, 'where one wheel brings another into movement,' a comparison which naturally pleased the Tsar. The great difficulty of introducing such a system of wheels into Russia was to find the proper men

[1] See vol. i., p. 146.

to work them, and it was thought at first that recourse must be had to foreigners. For this purpose General Weide, in the same year, was instructed to hire learned foreigners, skilled in jurisprudence and administration. Veselófsky in Vienna had similar orders. He was to search especially for persons speaking Slavonic languages, one from each college at Vienna, and at the same time was to ask the Jesuit School at Prague to translate certain books, which would be of use to the new administration. There seems, however, to have been very few who were willing to go to Russia in such capacity; and therefore, in August, 1717, an effort was made to find Swedish prisoners of war who had learnt Russian well enough, and had other necessary qualities, to take service. Finally, in 1719, with the same end in view, thirty or forty Russians were sent to Königsberg to study German and jurisprudence.

At the end of 1717 the plan had made such progress that nine colleges were instituted, although it was only in 1720 that they got into thorough working order. These colleges or commissions were those of Foreign Affairs, Revenue, Expenditure, Control, Justice (including Internal Affairs), War, Admiralty, Commerce, and Mines and Manufactures; under the presidency respectively of Count Golófkin, Prince Dimítri Golítsyn (the Governor of Kief), Count Musin-Pushkin, Prince Jacob Dolgorúky, Count Matvéief (who had finished his diplomatic career), Prince Menshikóf, Admiral Count Apráxin, Tolstói, and General Bruce. All the presidents—who were equivalent to Ministers—were Russian, with the exception of General Bruce in the College of Mines and Manufactures, there being no Russian fit for the place. The vice-presidents were all foreigners, except Baron Shafírof in the College of Foreign Affairs. The whole institution was so un-Russian that several colleges even bore foreign names, as *Kammer*, *Staats-Control*, *Justitz Collegium*, *Berg Collegium*.[1] The presidents appointed councillors, assessors, writers, translators, &c., of whom a small fixed number could be foreigners. All business was to be transacted

[1] We find from one of the memorandum-books of the Tsar that he wished to form still another college for the general embellishment of the Empire—for forming plantations, constructing buildings, improving the appearance and the health of towns, &c., &c.

in full meeting of the members, as in the Senate, and the presidents were also to have seats in the Senate itself. These new wheels at first revolved very badly, and stopped one another more than they put one another in motion. In the College of Foreign Affairs, the vice-president did not wish to sit and discuss with persons whom he called the creatures of Count Golófkin. In others there were disputes, as was very natural between the Russians and the foreigners. That these institutions worked badly can be seen readily enough from the protocols of their sessions, and it did not escape the notice of all foreigners. Vockerodt, a competent contemporary, says: 'It was soon shown that there had been too much haste, and that in the transaction of business there was more confusion to be expected than good order and promptitude. The chanceries in the provinces, from which business must come to the colleges in St. Petersburg, still remained on the old footing, and although instructions were sent to them how they must forward their reports and accounts, the old Russian clerks could not understand them, and thus caused much disorder. The Russian councillors in the colleges, even if they understood the concerns of their country, still could not immediately get a clear idea of the new method, and the Germans were seldom able to show them, partly because they did not understand the Russian language, and partly also because the Swedish forms were as little known to them. Therefore the Tsar in 1722 was obliged to make a second change in his new colleges, to dismiss most of the foreigners, and to put the colleges themselves, though still keeping the German names, on a footing which came considerably nearer the old one, and indeed did not differ from it in anything except the number of members, which hindered rather than advanced the prompt transaction of business, since no member was allowed to work at home or read over the case except in full session, and then give his vote, and that in those chanceries where there were accounts of revenue and expenditure proper books were kept in the commercial style.'

The Tsar, on the formation of the colleges, had prescribed to the members 'to indulge in no useless words or conversation, and never to interrupt one another, but to allow one to finish his speech before another began, like orderly people, and not

like market women.' It turned out that there was little necessity for these instructions, as generally there was no discussion. None of the members dared contradict the president of the college, who was so far superior to them in official position, and was besides a senator. If a complaint were made against him in the Senate, he was of course supported by his colleagues. For this reason, and because the presidents of the colleges had no time to do double duty, they were withdrawn from the Senate. Other changes were also made in the constitution of that body. In order to keep the Senate at work, Zótof had in 1715 been appointed Inspector-General, but neither he nor the chief secretary accomplished much. The Tsar continued to complain of the obstacles to business. 'Nothing is so necessary to a Government as the exact observance of the laws, since it is of no use to write laws if they are not kept, or if they are played with like cards, putting one suit against another, which has never been anywhere in the world so common as with us, where people try in every way to undermine the fortress of right.' To weaken this tendency, army officers were appointed to attend the meetings of the Senate, and to keep them in order, and when this proved ineffectual Gaguzhínsky (1722) was appointed Procurator-General, as the direct representative of the Tsar in that body. All the other procurators and the whole army of fiscals and spies were subordinate to him, and there was no appeal from his decisions except to the Tsar himself.[1]

We have seen that in 1708 Russia was divided into eight governments or *gubernias*. Up to this change most of the towns in Russia had been in great measure directly governed from Moscow, where the only appeal against the Voievode lay, and where the decision of many questions rested. This system prevented the formation of provincial centres, and enhanced the importance of the capital. As Muscovy extended its borders to the south and east, it was easily introduced, and in that way every extension of the Russian realm became an extension of

[1] The colleges were transformed into regular ministeries under Alexander I., in 1802. The Senate, after having been variously modified, lost most of its powers through the establishment of the Council of the Empire, in 1810. It it is now barely more than a Court of Appeal, charged also with the registration and the publication of the laws.

the Russian people. When the Baltic provinces were acquired, owing partly to the war, and partly to the existence of established institutions of a very different character, this system was harder to introduce, and the Tsar found it simpler to use the existing Swedish internal organisation and administration. With Peter's ideas there was nothing more natural than that these institutions, or modifications of them, should be extended into the other parts of Russia, for the centralised system was as convenient administratively as it was advantageous politically. By a decree of 1713 the collegiate system was introduced into the provincial administration. *Landrichs* (for even the German name was retained) were instituted, varying in number from eight to twelve according to the size of the government, to be chosen by the nobility as a sort of council to the governor. Judicial affairs were to a certain extent removed from the hands of the governor by the appointment of provincial judges or *Landrichter*, who were to be subordinate to the Senate alone.

With these administrative changes, and even with the new judicial system, there was as yet no code of laws. In 1700 the Council of Boyars had been ordered to bring the code of 1649 of the Tsar Alexis into conformity with the new institutions, but the more the Tsar went on in his changes and the more he became acquainted with foreign systems the less satisfied he was with the code of Alexis. In April, 1713, he ordered all the colleges to draw up a new code on the basis of the Swedish code, and in the following month, on the report of the College of Justice, ordered the formation of tribunals on the Swedish system and the translation of the Swedish code. At the end of 1714 the Senate was directed to begin discussions on the new code, keeping in mind that where articles seemed unsuitable to Russia the articles of the old code were to be retained, or where articles of the old code seemed more important they were to be submitted to the judgment of the Tsar. The laws of Esthonia and Livonia were to be used for questions relating to landed property. For these discussions the members of the colleges were obliged to sit from three to eight o'clock three afternoons of the week.

The Tsar did not wait, however, for the establishment of the new code to make important changes in the law. Such

was the law of 1714 preventing the division of estates and compelling the owner to leave these to one son only, who would not necessarily be the eldest. Hitherto property had been divided equally among all the children, and the reasons given for these innovations were that by keeping all the property in the hands of one person the taxes would be paid more regularly, the condition of the serfs would be better, the family would retain its wealth and distinction, and the younger sons would no longer be idle, as they were when they had sufficient money to live upon, but would be obliged to engage in some occupation useful to the State, would enter the service, become teachers or merchants. Peter had evidently been impressed by the conditions of the English aristocracy, and the merging of younger sons into the middle class. In those days of serfage proprietors were not obliged to pay as much attention to the management of their estates as now, and might have been lazy; as Peter says, but the smaller the estate the more certainly they would have been occupied. As an inducement to younger sons to be of profit to the State, they were granted the right of acquiring landed property, a distinctive privilege of the nobility, but only after seven years of military service, ten years of civil service, or fifteen years of mercantile life. If the Tsar had wished to introduce a system of entailed estates, it would have been far better for him to have entailed the lands which he from time to time distributed among his generals and favourites, and to have induced others to follow his example. But he could never wait, and the law was made immediately applicable. As it did not establish primogeniture, because the eldest son did not necessarily inherit, but the father could leave his property to whichever son he chose, the law was productive of family quarrels and feuds, and it was so contrary to all Russian ideas and habits that it is not surprising that five years after Peter's death (1730) it was repealed. The very reasons given for it were contradicted by subsequent enactments, because it was soon decreed that all persons of noble birth should enter the military or naval service: and this was no light matter, for it was necessary to serve for twenty-five years, and to begin as a common soldier in the guards, before attaining the rank of officer. Of course such a measure was destructive to all proper

management of estates, but severe penalties were enacted against all who failed to appear—fines, corporal punishment, confiscation of their property to the informer, 'even were he a runaway serf;' finally, those who did not appear at the last term in 1722 were outlawed, and could be killed with impunity. In order to prevent young men from escaping service, a herald-in-chief was appointed, with the duty of keeping classified lists of all the nobility. This was followed the next year (1722) by the Table of Ranks, by which the military service was divided from the civil, and all officers and officials were classified into fourteen corresponding grades. Service henceforth took precedence of birth, and all distinction in the empire, even social, was to be obtained by service only. No one could be granted a high grade unless he had passed through the lower ones. Titles of nobility were not abolished, but they became henceforward mere honorary distinctions, which neither gave the possessor any right to employment nor to any particular distinction. The Table of Ranks produced a great and useful change in the constitution of the Russian nobility, for it contained a democratic principle by which nobility could be obtained by service. The lower grades conferred personal, the higher ones hereditary nobility, with all the privileges, including owning serfs and freedom from personal taxation. The great harm was that it led to an excessive respect to official rank and to the establishment of a bureaucracy. Like so many other innovations of this time, the Table of Ranks showed its foreign origin by its nomenclature. Some titles, like Actual Privy Councillor, were translated from German into Russian; others were transferred bodily, as *Ober-Hofmeister*, *Kammerfourier*, *Tafeldecker*, and *Mundschenk*.[1]

There could be little advantage in the new codes intro-

[1] The Table of Ranks still continues to exert a baneful influence. The obligatory military service was alleviated soon after Peter's death, partly by the exemption of one member of each family, partly by the usage of inscribing boys as soldiers in the guard in their early childhood, so that they had little time to serve after coming of age. By the charter of Catherine II., of 1762, obligatory service was abolished. Freedom from it then became one of the distinct privileges of the nobility, coupled with the right of serving. Obligatory military service has been of late again imposed upon the nobility, but only in the same degree as upon all other Russian subjects.

duced from abroad, and not agreeing with the usages of the country, or in a remodelling of the administrative system, when there were no jurists or honest men to work them. The Russian officials having generally been paid no salaries, or very small ones, had been accustomed to obtain their living out of their office, and this was a system which could not be broken up in a day. Add to that a loose way of thinking, difficult to eradicate without a high moral tone in the community, that it is far less wrong to rob the State than to rob a private individual, and the general corruption of the Russian officials in Peter's time can be easily accounted for. One could indeed count upon the fingers the honest men among the higher officials, for among the lower there was no question of honesty. Sheremétief, Repnin, Osterman, Yaguzhínsky, Rumiántsof—these were all or nearly all. The Tsar was obliged to allow the system of bribery, extortion, and illegitimate fees in private matters, for the State was too poor to pay sufficient salaries, and therefore the officials had to make their living from the business brought to them. In 1713, for instance, the clerks of the secret bureau of the Senate petitioned for an addition of pay, because there were no extra fees, and their salary was insufficient. The answer to this, instead of pay, was, 'Send to the secret bureau all the foreign and Strógonof affairs, except Archangel commercial affairs.' At the same time Peter made severe rules against frauds upon the Government and the public purse. In 1713 decrees were issued regulating public contracts and forbidding various kinds of peculation, and informers were promised during the next six months, for accurate and truthful accusations against persons who had stolen from the public treasury, their whole property, landed and personal, and even the rank of the person convicted, if they were worthy of it. This decree produced a strong impression, but at the same time people asked themselves the reasons for it, as such things had never been forbidden before; and the Tsar was obliged to issue a new decree forbidding all persons in public authority from becoming either directly or collusively contractors with the Government.

These great promises of awards to informers brought little but anonymous letters. It was not easy to have proofs in hand,

and without these no one dared openly accuse high placed and influential people. At first these anonymous letters were read and considered, but they soon became such a nuisance, and were used so much for the gratification of private spite, and especially by dissenters for the purpose of showing their disapproval of the Government, that it was forbidden any longer to pick them up or to receive them. Persons finding such a letter in the street were to call one or two bystanders to witness and immediately burn it without reading it.

The fiscals did more, but not as much as was expected from them. Some who were sent off to distant provinces were only too glad to come to an arrangement with the officials whom they were sent to watch, buy an estate, and live at their ease. Others used their position as a means of extorting money and presents. They were naturally not liked, and Peter himself was obliged to admit that the office of fiscal was hard and unenviable.[1] Frequently their reports were neglected by the Senate, and they complained that they were treated by Prince Jacob Dolgorúky and Plemiánnikof in such a way that it was dangerous for them to appear. 'Plemiánnikof calls us gutter judges, and Prince Jacob Dolgorúky anti-Christs and rascals.' The first *Ober-Fiscal* was the Secretary Bylínsky, who was soon relieved on the request of Prince Ramodanófsky, who needed him to look after the building of his house in St. Petersburg. One of his successors, Alexis Nésteroff, distinguished himself by his especial love and zeal for his work, and even brought up his son to the same business. He sent frequent reports, in which he sometimes allowed zeal to get the better of discretion, and naturally tried to avenge himself on his enemies. There were,

[1] As a specimen of the popular dislike of the fiscals, Stephen Yavórsky, the Metropolitan of Riazán, the guardian of the patriarchal throne, in a sermon on the namesday of the Tsarévitch Alexis in 1712, allowed himself to say: 'The law of God is faultless, but human laws have faults. Such a law, for example, places an inspector over judges, and gives him the power of accusing whom he pleases, and dishonouring whom he pleases. Even if he do not succeed in calumniating his neighbours, no one finds fault with him. Not so ought we to live; he has sought my head, and accused me falsely, let him lay down his own; he has spread a net for me, let him be entangled; he has dug a pit for me, let him fall into it.' The sermon was not without effect, for a decree was soon issued giving some slight guarantees against false and secret accusations.

for instance, several accusations brought against Prince Jacob Dolgorúky and Count Músin-Púshkin. Revelations were made about government contracts—a system then recently introduced—about the oppression of merchants, and the concealment of serfs by which taxes were reduced. It is not wonderful, therefore, that Major Ushakóf in 1714 was ordered to begin an inquest into the various contracts for the sustenance of the army, into the military expenses, the custom-houses, and the registration of serfs.

The most important affair started by Nésteroff was that of Prince Matthew Gagárin, who had been connected with Siberia since 1693, first as Vóievode of Nertchínsk, then President of the Siberian Department, even retaining that position when Governor of Moscow, and since 1711 Governor of Siberia, still retaining the direction of the Siberian Department. At that time the trade with China was a Government monopoly. Gagárin was accused of allowing private merchants to trade illegally and make great gains, as well as of selling his own goods to the Chinese as belonging to the Government, and pocketing the proceeds. In point of fact he had become enormously rich and lived in a style suited to a monarch, as he practically was. His table was sumptuously spread every day for many guests, the whole service being of silver. An image of the Virgin in his bedroom was decorated with brilliants worth 130,000 rubles (53,000*l.*). At the same time he had been of great service in developing the resources of the country, discovering mines, and increasing the trade, ruled with a mild hand, and on account of the distance he was practically omnipotent—was very popular and greatly loved even by the Swedish prisoners, of whom there were 7,000 in Siberia, who subsequently sent a petition to the Tsar in his favour. The first and second reports against Gagárin, owing to his influence and his money, were neglected by the Senate. Nésterof sent his own spies, got some merchants to testify, and finally profited by the presence of the Tsar in Moscow for the affair of the Tsarévitch to lay before him the whole business. A commission composed of officers of the guard was appointed to investigate the matter. Gagárin was arrested and brought to St. Petersburg, where he confessed that he had done much that was irre-

gular and even illegal, and begged to be pardoned and to be allowed to finish his days in a monastery. The Tsar felt it necessary to make an example, and Gagárin got the gallows instead of a monastery, and was publicly executed at St. Petersburg in 1718.

In consequence of the discoveries with regard to contracts and other matters made by Major Ushakóf, which were reported to the Tsar after his return from the Finland campaign in the autumn of 1714, a large number of arrests were made, including Korsákof, the Vice-Governor of St. Petersburg; the Ober-Commissary Siniávin, Prince Volkónsky, Alexander Kikin, the head of the Admiralty; Naryshkin, the commandant of Narva; Zótof, the Commandant of Reval; the senator Opúkhtin, Count Peter Apráxin, the former Governor of Kazan and brother of the Grand-Admiral, and many others. An investigation was held by a commission headed by Prince Basil Vladimírovitch Dolgorúky. Their crimes differed in degree, but some fearful examples were made. Several were condemned to death, and when they were brought up for execution the Tsar, who was present, gave them their life; but the Vice-Governor Korsákof, after being severely knouted, was banished to Siberia with the confiscation of all his property. Prince Volkónsky and Opúkhtin, after being knouted, had their tongues burnt for breaking their oaths of office and their property was confiscated. Three others after the knout had their noses slit and were condemned to the gallows. Eight others were made to lie on the ground and beaten with rods by the soldiers. When the order to stop was given the soldiers cried out to the Tsar: 'Father, allow us to beat a little more yet, for the thieves have stolen even our bread.' Of the remaining criminals some lost their property, some their offices, and others were punished with heavy fines. Alexander Kikin, who had been an especial favourite of the Tsar, was condemned to exile and to the confiscation of all his property, but Catherine interceded for him, and not only his property but his office was restored to him.

Before this commission there also appeared Menshikóf, and the foreigners in St. Petersburg greatly wondered how he succeeded in escaping. It is necessary to remember that Menshikóf was generally detested, that the accusations against him

were brought in a very exaggerated form by his enemies, that he was judged by his most bitter enemy, and that his history has been mainly written by his enemies. In this particular case he was accused, first, of having made contracts with the Government for the sale of grain and forage by which he had made an unlawful profit; secondly, of having spent and wasted Government money and property to the amount of over a million of rubles. On the first count the Tsar decided that he was to go clear on the first contract, which was made in his own name and the profit of which was moderate; but where the profit was excessive the whole profit was to be charged against him, and in contracts made through third persons he was to be fined in addition half the sum. On this charge he was found to owe 144,788 rubles. As to the second count, of spending Government money, he was able to account for all but 202,283 rubles. Including one or two smaller charges the whole sum which was found due from him was 324,355 rubles (130,000*l.*). He paid part, and on a petition to the Tsar the half of the remainder was forgiven him. The charge of peculation was apparently, and seemed to be so understood by the Tsar, a simple case of irregularities in accounts without any intention of cheating. Menshikóf had been Governor of St. Petersburg ever since its foundation, over ten years. During this time he had received no salary, had greatly increased the Government revenues, had on various occasions, by timely advances, been of great service to military and naval operations, and notably the case when the fleet of Apráxin was suffering from want and privations in 1714. Much of the irregularity consisted in diverting funds from one use to another without proper accounts and vouchers. Menshikóf's income from his various estates was very large, and, owing to the disinclination of the Tsar to formalities of such a kind, Menshikóf, who had the largest house in St. Petersburg, was obliged to receive and entertain all the foreign ministers. His own revenues had frequently been applied to the Government uses, and he had sometimes used public money for his own needs. Menshikóf protested against the justice of this decision, and the judgment remained unpaid, certain items being still under investigation. When Dolgorúky was exiled, in consequence of his connections with the Tsarévitch

Alexis, Menshikóf thought that the whole matter was settled, but instead of that new charges were brought against him of the same character as the preceding ones, and the matter was given to another commission of military officers, at the head of which was Prince Peter Golítsyn. During this investigation Menshikóf gave to the Tsar as far as possible an account of all the presents he had received since his entering into service. Some of them were probably exactions. For instance, in Holstein he admitted having received 5,000 ducats for keeping discipline among his soldiers and not devastating the country; from Hamburg he had 10,000 ducats, from Lubeck 5,000; from Mecklenburg 12,000 thalers, and from Danzig 20,000 thalers, &c. It was discovered that in 1716 he had taken 21,000 rubles sent from Moscow to St. Petersburg for the purchase of regimental horses. For this, which was a military offence, he was sent before a court-martial in company with the Grand-Admiral Apráxin, Prince Jacob Dolgorúky, and others accused of similar crimes. In his defence Menshikóf showed that when his profits from contracts were confiscated, the Government of Moscow still owed him 29,000 rubles, which the commission had refused to take into account, that he had not been paid this sum, and had never succeeded in getting it from the Governor of Moscow. Therefore, when these 21,000 rubles came into his hands, he took them in part payment. The extenuating circumstances had to be admitted, but he had committed an offence against military law and was sentenced to degradation and the loss of his honours. Apráxin had the same sentence. Prince Dolgorúky and one or two others succeeded in exonerating themselves. The sentences of Menshikóf and Apráxin were confirmed by the Tsar, but within a day or two they were restored to their full rank. In fact, Peter could not at this or any time have deprived himself of—with a few exceptions—all his chief ministers and agents, as it would have been necessary to do had he always confirmed the sentences against them. He seems, however—for it is not easy to understand it in any other way—to have thought best to continue the investigations against Menshikóf in order to retain him always in his power. The arrearages in his accounts were several times forgiven, but there was always some little point about which a new investigation

was ordered. Later on, in 1723 and 1724, there were far more serious accusations against Menshikóf of irregularities in Little Russia. He had been granted the estates of Mazeppa at Baturin, and he was accused of having concealed in them over 30,000 serfs, who had run away either from the military service or from their proprietors. He was also accused of having by illegal survey greatly enlarged the boundaries of his property of Potchep, given to him by the Hetman Skoropádsky to secure his favour. As to the boundary encroachments he confessed, but as to the concealment of serfs he lay the blame on Mazeppa, saying that it was done before his time, but offering to give up and pay for all that could be proved against him. He presented a petition on this subject to the Empress Catherine at her coronation in the autumn of 1724, and was forgiven the greater part. The investigation, however, was still going on when Peter died, after which everything was quashed. Naturally the relations between Menshikóf and the Tsar could never be quite the same after the investigation of 1715. The Tsar had suspicions, but yet treated Menshikóf in a familiar way, frequently went to his house and wrote to him friendly and even affectionate letters. But there was a little coolness perceptible in the correspondence on Peter's part, and Menshikóf never after that addressed the Tsar in the same familiar style which he had formerly used, but more respectfully and formally as a subject to his sovereign.

With the charges brought against Menshikóf there was closely related the affair of Kurbátof and the brothers Soloviéf, an affair which made much stir at the time, because one of the brothers, Joseph, was the agent and banker of the Russian Government at Amsterdam; a second, Dimitoi, was the Ober-Commissary for the Government trade at Archangel; and the third, Theodore, managed the private property of Prince Menshikóf. It can be seen at once how easily they could play into each other's hands. Kurbátof, the head of the Rathhaus, the diligent 'revenue finder,' had at one time been devoted to Menshikóf, had praised him as 'a vessel chosen by God, the only man who was without fault before the Tsar;' had been a middleman between the Prince and those who wished his favours and were willing to pay for them, and had assisted

him in many ways. In spite of his duties he had the loose way of looking at things then prevalent, considered it no harm to receive a money gratification in return for a decision, and defended that course openly to the Tsar. He even said that it was useless to pay judges, as they would always receive presents from the suitors. As he was working with all his energy to increase the revenues of the State, he seemed to think that he had the right to dispose in part of that increase. Kurbátof had in 1711, somewhat against his will, been appointed Vice-Governor of Archangel. Here he came into relations and then into collision with Dimitoi Soloviéf. The result was a series of mutual accusations, and an investigation which lasted for years, the result of which was that Kurbátof was charged with being a defaulter to the amount of 16,000 rubles (£6,400), and died in 1721 before the final judgment. Joseph Soloviéf was inveigled upon a ship at Amsterdam and sent to Russia. Upon the strength of certain letters stolen from Menshikóf's agent, the brothers were obliged to confess, and were condemned to pay 675,000 rubles (£277,000), for which their property was seized. Prince Volkónsky, who had been charged with an investigation and made a false report, was shot. One result of this affair was to ruin the credit of Russian merchants at Amsterdam, where Soloviéf, alone among his colleagues abroad, had borne an excellent reputation. Many persons in Russia said that the Soloviéfs were practically right in the whole affair.

The charges after the Tsar's return from Paris in 1717 were much influenced by political enmities and affected all departments of the Government. The chief charge concerned malversations at the salt works at Bakhmút. The Tsar's distrust was now so great that each charge was examined by a military commission, composed of a major, a captain, and a lieutenant, who had no knowledge of civil law. Well might Weber say: 'It has never before gone so far that a stately Senate, composed of the best blood of the realm, should appear before and submit to a lieutenant.' While resulting in many condemnations of minor offenders, the investigation was to some extent swallowed up by the trial of Alexis.

A curious case was that of Shafírof. When the Tsar was

on his Persian campaign, and Yaguzhínsky, the Procurator-General, was obliged to go to Moscow, the party strifes in the Senate, especially between men of old family and the new men, broke out worse than ever. There was, however, a private dispute between the Vice-Chancellor, Baron Shafírof, and General Skorniakóf Písaref, the Ober-Procurator, in consequence partly of a drunken scene at a ball and partly of a decree with regard to the property of Menshikóf in Little Russia. Here, in spite of the violence of his antagonist, Shafírof gained the day, because it was regarded by the aristocratic party as a victory over Menshikóf. Soon, however, the Baron gave cause for his enemies to turn against him. He used his senatorial influence to have extra pay granted to his brother Michael in passing from one branch of the service to another. Ordinarily this would have passed unnoticed, but sharp eyes were now watching, and Skorniakóf protested against its illegality. There was an altercation, and the Ober-Procurator said that Shafírof's father was a Jew and a serf. Shafírof replied that Skorniakóf was a cross between a fur-dresser (*skormiák*) and a scribe (*písar*). Subsequently postal affairs came under discussion, and the Ober-Procurator ordered Shafírof to retire, as being an interested party, and brought out a decree prescribing that judges should not be present in cases where their relatives were concerned. Shafírof protested that this had nothing to do with the case. Count Golófkin, who had long hated Shafírof, and Menshikóf, sided with Skorniakóf. Shafírof then called Skorniakóf a thief, and attacking Menshikóf about the Potchep business, said that he did not intend on his account to put his head into a noose like Volkónsky and Gagárin. Dolgorúky and Golítsyn sided with Shafírof, and the Senate broke up in confusion. Two days afterwards, during Shafírof's absence, it was, on Menshikóf's proposition, voted to exclude him from the Senate. When, some days later, Shafírof appeared and asked to see this resolution, he was told that he could see it only after it had been approved by the Tsar. Another violent scene took place, and Shafírof insisted that at all events the resolution should be sealed up so that no change could be made in its terms afterwards, and rising said, with a hint at Menshikóf: 'I have never

been in contracts. My sword was never taken from me.' When Peter returned, in January, 1723, and the matter was placed before him, Shafírof demanded that neither Menshikóf nor Golófkin should take part in the discussion, and Skorniakóf asked for the exclusion of Prince Gregory Dolgorúky and Dimitoi Golítsyn. A special high court was instituted at Preobrazhénsky, composed of senators, generals, and other military officers, which condemned Shafírof to death according to a decree of 1722, providing that no one should in any way act contrary to the regulations. On February 27, Shafírof was brought from Preobrazhénsky to the Kremlin in a common sledge, sentence was read to him, his wig and old pelisse were taken from him, and he was led to the scaffold, where after crossing himself several times he knelt down and placed his head upon the block. The axe was already in the air when Makárof stopped the executioner, and proclaimed that the Emperor, in consideration of his previous services, had commuted the sentence of death to exile in Siberia. Shafírof rose to his feet and left the scaffold with tears in his eyes. He was taken to the Senate and his old colleagues congratulated him on the mitigation of his sentence. He was, however, much distressed, and when the physician, fearing the consequences of the emotion, bled him, Shafírof said: 'You had better open my largest vein at once to relieve me from my torments.' The sentence to Siberia was commuted to confinement in Nóvgorod with his family, where he received for their whole support thirty-three kopeks a day. The foreign ministers in general showed much sympathy with Shafírof, and aided him with money and in other ways. 'It is true,' says Bergholz, 'he was very hot-tempered, but still he readily accepted the representations made to him and one could always rely fully upon his word.'[1] Skorniakóf Písaref did not, however, triumph. His conduct in the Senate was found to be illegal and improper, and he was sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted to degradation to a common soldier and the confiscation of

[1] Shafírof was pardoned after Catherine's accession, was made a senator by the Empress Anne, and served in various high capacities until his death in 1739.

all his property. As, however, he had been an active and zealous official, he was sent to supervise the construction of the Ládoga canal, but on account of his negligence in that capacity the Tsar refused to restore him to his previous dignities, and at the coronation of Catherine gave him the rank of Colonel only.

This severe punishment of the Vice-Chancellor and of the Ober-Procurator was accompanied by that of the Ober-Fiscal, who had convicted so many others. Poptsof, a provincial fiscal at Yarosláv, had been guilty of very great abuses which had gone on for a number of years, and had been complained of by a very obstinate Yarosláv merchant. The affair was several times hushed up, and proceedings were delayed in the Senate and in the courts; but finally, when an appeal was made to the Tsar himself, Poptsof was tried and executed. It was brought out that Nésterof had received presents from him at various times (not amounting to very great sums), and had overlooked his misdemeanours which he ought to have known. Nésterof was tried, convicted, and executed. Lefort, in a report to Count Flemming, says: 'Yesterday, on the square opposite the colleges, there was a great execution of the people who had committed different frauds, among others a certain Nésterof, who had been imprisoned for a long time, a man very advanced in age, quite white. He had been Ober-Fiscal for several years, but had committed numerous frauds. This unhappy man was broken alive on the wheel. Some time after His Majesty, being at the window of the College of Finances, in pity had his head cut off. Three other provincial fiscals were beheaded, and nine clerks of different colleges were knouted on the same scaffold and condemned to the gallows.' The death of Nésterof was probably not much regretted. Only a few months before he had complained to the Tsar that no one in his ward would speak to him.

The Tsar was greatly disgusted with all this, and it is said that he began to dictate to Yaguzhínsky a decree punishing any official with death if he had taken enough to pay for a rope. Yaguzhínsky, who was himself a perfectly honest man, said: 'Has your Majesty reflected upon the consequences of this decree?' 'Go on and write,' Peter replied. 'What! Does your

Majesty wish to remain alone in the Empire? We all steal, some more, some less but more cleverly.' The Tsar laughed, and went no further.[1]

[1] Solóvief, xvi., xviii.; Brückner, *Peter der Grosse*; A. Gradófsky, *Politics, History, and Administration*, St. Petersburg, 1871; A. Gradófsky, *Elements of Russian Constitutional Law*, St. Petersburg, 1875; A. Románovitch-Slavatínsky, *The Nobility in Russia*, St. Petersburg, 1870; Golikof, v., vi., x.; *Russian Laws*; Weber's *Despatches* in Herrmann's *Peter der Grosse*; Lavie's *Despatches* in Collection of Russian Imperial Historical Society, xxxiv.; Lefort's *Despatches*, *id.*, xii.

LXXIII.

ECONOMICS

'The Tsar, pitying the peoples of his realm, zealous to root out unjust, disastrous, general burdens and crafty thefts from the State treasury, having ascertained that great falsifications and thefts are increasing the public burdens and injuring the interests of the State, and that by this many people of every station, but most of all the peasants, are becoming impoverished and ruined,' &c., &c. So began one of the Tsar's decrees in 1713; but the Tsar really knew very little of the sufferings of the people. Indeed, how could he? What were the Russian serfs at that time, that anyone should interest themselves in them except as mere draft animals, machines for labour, and objects of taxation? The revenue of Russia which for 1709 had been calculated at 3,026,128 rubles (1,259,220*l.*) had risen in 1725 to 10,186,707 rubles (3,606,000*l.*), the ruble having depreciated fifteen per cent. in value. At the end of Peter's reign the regular army numbered 210,000 men, and the fleet contained forty-eight ships of the line and eight hundred smaller vessels, manned by 28,000 men. This result could not have been reached without immense and oppressive taxation, and, as we have already seen, nearly everything possible was taxed. Besides that, the recruiting and the way it was carried on, the building of St. Petersburg, the construction of the fortresses, the digging of canals, and the opening of harbours had cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of men. To escape harsh treatment and death many more had run away. Strahlenberg tells us that to escape the oppression of the tax officials, who collected the taxes in the times of the year worst for agriculture, and seized the draft horses of the peasants, at least a hundred thousand men had fled to Poland, Lithuania, Turkey, and

the Tartars. Others say two hundred thousand. The figures may be doubted, but the general fact remains true. Whole villages ran away to the frontiers or hid in the woods. As the maintenance of a large army rendered both men and money necessary, the pursuit of the fugitive serfs, and of unwilling and runaway conscripts, was carried on diligently throughout the whole of Peter's reign. All other means of raising revenue proving insufficient, even the monopolies of trade producing unsatisfactory results, recourse was had to a poll-tax—imposed on males only—which fell chiefly on the peasants, as the nobles, the clergy, and their families, the inhabitants of the Baltic provinces, the Bashkirs and the Lapps were exempted from it. This amounted to 120 kopeks per head on the inhabitants of towns, 114 kopeks on the crown and church peasants, the *odnodvórtsi*, or peasant proprietors, and the inhabitants of the Ukraine, and 74 kopeks on the other taxpayers. The census ordered in 1719 to regulate the imposition of the poll-tax served to strengthen greatly the bonds of serfage. There had been hitherto a legal distinction between household slaves and serfs or peasants attached to the soil, but the department of serfage, charged with the registration of slaves and the maintenance of this distinction, had been abolished in 1704, and consequently all the peasants were inscribed indiscriminately on the census lists as serfs, became thenceforth the absolute property of the landed proprietors, and could be bought and sold. As the proprietors were made responsible for the poll-tax and the furnishing of recruits, it is easy to understand what power they were given over these wretched labourers.[1] The laws establishing manufactures introduced a new kind of serfdom, where the peasant was separated from the land, and rendered a simple slave attached to a manufactory. To be sure, a decree was issued in 1721 forbidding the sale of serfs as such without land—the theory of Russian law being that, when land was sold,

[1] The first census gave the number of the tax-paying class as 5,967,313 males, of which 172,385 belonged to the merchant class; and estimating, as was then done, the nobility at 500,000, the officials at 200,000, the clergy at 300,000, the Cossacks at 800,000, and the population of Siberia at a million, the population of Russia at that date (1723) amounted to nearly fifteen millions. There were 340 cities or towns.

the serfs naturally went with it—but even in this very decree there was added 'should such sale be absolutely necessary, they should be sold by families and not individually.' Pososhkóf, himself a peasant and a contemporary of Peter, shows throughout his economical treatise how great was the oppression of the peasantry, and how little it was known to the Tsar. Foreigners, however, perceived it. Vockerodt wondered at the patience of the oppressed people, and questioned 'whether some patriot will not arise before one expects, and find means to bring the complaints and sighs of the subjects to the steps of the throne.' Weber, in a ciphered despatch to the Elector of Hanover, says: 'Everything in this realm will have a fearful end, because the sighs of so many million souls against the Tsar rise to heaven, and the glowing sparks of rage concealed in every man lack nothing but a fair wind and a conductor.' The real history of the Russian people at this time is, however, only to be found in the archives of the Secret Tribunal of Preobrazhénsky, and in the memoirs or traditions of the dissenters in the north and east.

The poll-tax had the merit of being simple and easily collected; but it replaced a tax on arable land, much better in principle, which had existed from the earliest times, was in thorough conformity with Russian ideas, and had been gradually developed and was capable of still further development and improvement. The inequality and injustice of the poll-tax—or tax on *souls*, as it was technically called—struck contemporaries. Pososhkóf opposed it, and recommended a land-tax. He thought this could not be permanent, and that the money spent on the census was therefore wasted. Two years after Peter's death Catherine appointed a commission to find means for diminishing the poll-tax, or substituting for it a land or house-tax. Her death put an end to the project.[1]

In spite of the great increase of revenue and the constant

[1] This oppressive tax, now greatly increased in amount, still exists, and is made more oppressive yet by the passport system which is considered necessary to secure its payment. How heavy it is may be judged from the fact that in some of the poorer provinces peasants are obliged to do work outside their farms in order to gain enough to pay their taxes; but as it brings in nearly 80,000,000 rubles yearly, more than a ninth of the whole ordinary revenue, it is difficult to replace.

economy practised by the Tsar, yet—owing to wars as well as bad harvests—the treasury was sometimes so low that it was necessary to recur to extraordinary measures, such as are now practised only in Turkey. In the winter of 1723 the Government officials were paid in furs and other Government wares instead of money. It was not so easy then for the Government to contract loans. A subsequent decree says that 'when money is absolutely necessary, and when no other way of raising it is found, the sum must be deducted proportionally from the salaries of the officials, spiritual as well as temporal, except foreign artisans and soldiers and sailors.' A few months later, besides raising the excise on spirits and the price of stamped paper, one-fourth was deducted from the pay of all officials, and the rations of officers were either reduced by half or withheld altogether.

In endeavoring to find ways of improving the revenues and of increasing the general well-being of the country, Peter was certainly in earnest and energetic. In some respects he was an adherent of the mercantile or protective theory, as far as he understood it; but it requires a strong imagination to find any real or consequent system in his commercial policy. He did things as they occurred to him. If when travelling abroad he saw something which he thought useful for Russia, he at once adopted it, without further thought as to whether its introduction was easy or not. Hence many trials which were soon abandoned, many measures which contradicted each other. Peter himself admitted that there was no branch of administration which he found so difficult to understand as economy and commerce. When the Dutch resident was pressing for a new commercial treaty, and had met with nothing but delay, Osterman at last said: 'Between ourselves, I will tell you the whole truth. We have not a single man who understands commercial affairs at all. But I can assure you that the Tsar is now occupying himself with this matter.' As concerns the accumulation of precious metals, the policy of Peter would certainly satisfy the most rigid adherent of the mercantile system. In 1714 he forbade the exportation of silver. The next year this order was repeated. Four years later, merchants who crossed the frontier were searched to see whether they

took with them ducats, specie, thalers, or silver, and the coin was confiscated. Not even silver or copper small money was allowed to go out of the country. In 1721, a proposition had been made by the Mining College, and approved by the Tsar, that worked or unworked silver should never be exported. This decree was repeated two years later, with the addition of the punishment of death for its violation. None of these did any good, for the exportation of precious metals constantly increased. In those days the system of the easy transfer of money by paper had not reached its present development. The import of gold and silver was not only allowed, but Peter tried to increase it by freeing it from duty. At the same time it was not allowed to introduce any small Russian coin, on the

Coins of Peter's Time.

ground that it would probably be counterfeit. Russians were not permitted to sell their wares to foreigners for Russian money, but must receive always foreign money. Peter even said that he would heartily thank the man who could show him how to keep money in the country, and many decrees say nearly the same thing.[1]

The measures for the improvement of the economical condition of Russia had reference chiefly to mining, manufactures, and the regulation of commerce. Very little attention was paid to agriculture, which was apparently thought to be such a natural and simple condition of man that it needed none. One decree, however, orders the grain to be reaped with scythes and not with sickles, and the peasants were commanded, under heavy penalties for disobedience, to use hoes of new construction. Tobacco culture was introduced into the south, efforts were

[1] One part of this system, the prohibition of the importation or exportation of Russian coin, was maintained up to a very late date.

made to increase the production of flax and hemp, and it was forbidden to burn the grass in the steppes. To improve the wool shepherds were introduced from Silesia, and sheep farmers, especially in Little Russia, were ordered to tend their flocks on the Silesian plan. An attempt was also made to improve the breed of horses in the south. To forests, as we have seen, the Tsar paid much more attention, but chiefly because he needed the trees for shipbuilding. The wilful destruction of forests, or even sometimes the necessary use of trees for timber, was forbidden by a series of severe decrees, in which the penalty of death was frequently threatened. On the Neva and the shore of the Finnish Gulf, as a warning, gallows were built every five miles, on which offenders against the forest laws were at once strung up. In St. Petersburg itself a birch grove stood on the site of the present bazaar. When, in spite of all laws, many inhabitants cut wood there, Peter resolved to hang every tenth man among the guilty and to knout the rest, but this severity was fortunately alleviated at the request of Catherine. Immense quantities of timber were used by the Government itself. So much went to the construction of the harbour works at Reval and Baltic Port, the latter of which was left unfinished, that Vockerodt said they had ruined the forests of Livonia and Esthonia and in 1720 Peter wrote to Repnin to forbid the export of wood from Pernau because the forest was disappearing.

In a decree of 1723 Peter thus explains the causes of the slow development of manufactures. 'Either our decrees are not accurately observed, or there are few people who wish to go into the business. Manufactures too are ruined by goods brought from abroad. For instance, a peasant discovered a dye called "Florence lake." I had artists try it. They said that it was only inferior to the Venetian, and quite equal to the German; some said even better. A good deal of it was made, and no one buys it on account of the quantity brought from abroad. Other manufacturers also complain. Therefore it is necessary to look after this sharply and to communicate with the College of Commerce and, if it does not look after it, then to protest to the Senate and state the matter to us, for other nations greatly envy our manufactories and try by all means to ruin them by bribery, as many examples show. That there are few people

wishing to go into business is true, for our people are like children, who never want to begin the alphabet unless they are compelled to by their teacher. It seems very hard to them at first, but when they have learnt it they are thankful. So in manufacturing affairs we must not be satisfied with the proposition only, but we must act and even compel, and help by teaching, by machines, and other aids, and even by compulsion, to become good economists. For instance, where there is fine felt we should compel people to make hats, by not allowing the sale of felt unless a certain number of hats are made.' Always force, always compulsion. Peter seems to have found no better way for dealing with even such a delicate matter as commerce, where people are governed entirely by their own interests, and where a slight fear of loss, especially if caused by Government interference, counteracts an almost certain hope of profit. Force was of little avail to promote Russian industry. High import duties, bounties, privileges and monopolies did more, but Russian manufactures never took a high rank in Peter's day nor indeed for long after.[1]

On the whole the constant Government interference, the prohibitions of exports and imports, so suddenly and frequently established, changed, and withdrawn, the minute regulations, the paternal supervision, did more harm than good to Russian trade, and lessened instead of increased the wealth of the country. Many interests were sacrificed in these commercial experiments. Thus in 1701 two foreigners were commissioned to make hats in the German style out of beaver skins and wool, and the exportation of the raw material or its sale to foreigners was forbidden, though only two years before two Dutchmen had been given a twelve years' privilege for the purchase and exportation of wool. In 1705 woollen factories were doing so well that Peter wrote to Menshikóf: 'They are making cloth, and this

[1] According to official statistics the production of manufactured articles, including metals, in European Russia during 1879 was 909,000,000 paper rubles (about 90,900,000*l.*), of which 112,000,000 paper rubles (about 11,200,000*l.*) came from Poland. This, however, includes bricks, tiles, tar, metals, and many village industries. The imports of manufactured articles (not including crude metals, &c.) in 1880 were 191,700,000 paper rubles (about 19,170,000*l.*). The exports of the same in 1880 were 11,800,000 paper rubles (about 1,180,000*l.*).

business is making good progress, and God gives excellent results, so that I have made a caftan for myself for the holidays.' In 1715 he hoped that in five years' time there would be cloth enough made to stop the importation, and in 1718 he ordered that the uniforms for all the soldiers in garrison should be made out of Moscow cloth. Another decree of the same year ordered 'the servants of the Boyars to wear livery or clothes of cloth of Russian manufacture and not foreign, the same to be the rule for the lower class of townspeople, who must in future content themselves with soldier's cloth. If there is not enough cloth for the Boyars' servants, then let them use serge, double if necessary. Either diminish the gold galloon or forbid it altogether, for it is beginning to be a habit to wear much of it, whence there is a loss not only to private people but also to the State, for the English are richer than we, and do not wear galloon.' About the same time the use of gold and silver stuffs was forbidden during the war. Old stuffs could be worn out but no new could be made. The importation of gold lace and stuffs worked with gold and silver was forbidden, but their manufacture was allowed at St. Petersburg to not more than 2,200 pounds of silver in one year, and later still the importation was again permitted. The importation of serge was forbidden, as well as of stockings, the latter to encourage a Frenchman who had started a factory at Moscow. The hemp and flax industries went through a number of vicissitudes. With his idea of exporting only manufactured products and not raw material, Peter forbade the exportation of hemp and flax seed, the great staples of Russia, except in the shape of oil. The oil, however, was so bad that none would buy it, and the prohibition of export was removed. At the same time he was trying to extend by compulsion the culture of flax and hemp. The course of trade too was arbitrarily changed. At times all the flax and hemp must be sent to St. Petersburg; at others part could be sent to Archangel; at others still it must all be sold to the Government. To encourage honesty an admixture of stones in a bale of hemp was punished with death. The needs of the Fleet were so great that the manufacture of sail cloth took good proportions. The Government factories were nearly ruined by bad management, and it became necessary to

give them into private hands. In 1712 the Tsar forbade the weaving of the narrow linen commonly used in Russia, and, with entire forgetfulness of the fact that the home market is the most important, for the sake of a possible export to England and her colonies, ordered all linen to be made at least a yard wide. The narrow linen made after that date was to be confiscated, and the informer was promised ten kopeks for each ell of linen he discovered. In 1718 this prohibition was withdrawn, and linen of all widths was allowed to be made; but again there was a change, and the export of narrow linen was forbidden (as if indeed it would have been exported without a demand for it). In spite of this paternal care, the linen industry languished. When long after, in 1762 and 1764, the restrictions on trade were removed, the export of flax and hemp increased, and they now constitute nearly one-fifth of the whole export. In order to encourage the manufacture of silk, Baron Shafírof and Tolstói were given a privilege for the manufacture of silk goods. The importation from abroad was entirely forbidden, and no European silk could even be worn, and they had the right of importing Asiatic raw silk free of duty; yet the business went on so badly that a limited importation (100,000 rubles) without duty of foreign silk goods was allowed to them for two years, in order to set the factory going again. The prospect, however, was so poor that they sold their privilege to private merchants for 20,000 rubles. One of the chief exports of Russia at that time was leather. In 1716 at least five million pounds were brought to Archangel for shipment, and its quality had long been famous. But the Tsar was dissatisfied with it on the ground that it was not sufficiently durable and waterproof, and with the best of intentions did what he could to break up the trade. In 1715 he forbade the manufacture of Russian leather, and ordered it henceforth to be made on the German plan, to teach which a sort of tanning-school was opened at Moscow, master-workmen being sent from Reval, who instructed the Russians, from the factories of the interior. If after two years of trial anyone made leather on the old system he was to be sent to Siberia and his property confiscated. The mining industry fared better owing to the great richness of the ores discovered in the Ural. Mining privileges were given to

Nikíta Demídof, the blacksmith of Tula, in 1702, who set to work vigorously and became so rich that, on the birth of the Tsarévitch Peter, he presented him with a hundred thousand rubles as 'tooth-cutting money.' In 1720 he was ennobled. The Stróganofs increased their already great fortune in the same region, and Alexander Stróganof was created a Baron in 1712. Even the Government mines prospered under the excellent management of General Hennin and Basil Tatístchef.

The general state of the country was not such as to encourage either manufacturers or merchants. The officials had been so long accustomed to look down upon the trading classes as low sorts of beings, that they made no scruples of harassing them and seizing their property. The large factories which were started by great nobles with the assistance of the State were safe, but the smaller ones frequently suffered from exactions and irregularities, and dared not complain. The safest way was to obtain the protection of some powerful person, but this after a time was strictly forbidden. Thus we find that many wealthy merchants had got themselves registered as servants of the Princess Natalia, or even of the Tsaritza Catherine; and when they were obliged to go back to their shops, they complained that the taxes were such that they were unable to live and carry on their trade as before. We may judge how necessary such protection sometimes was, from the case of the merchant Bogomólof, who was a well-known and rich man in Moscow; had much silver, gold, and jewels; had given much to be the construction of a monastery where he hoped to be buried; had lent money to various high placed personages; and, among others, had been on friendly terms with Prince Boris Golítsyn, who frequently visited him. One day Sergius, son of Boris, came to visit Bogomólof; and, finding him alone with a young nephew, ordered all the servants out of the house, sent him off to a monastery in the country, forced him to become a monk, and in fact robbed him of all his property.

It is almost useless to recount the vain attempt to introduce the German system of guilds among the Russian workmen, in which all laws and lessons of historical development were disregarded. Yet the old Russian *artel*—a sort of mutually-guaranteeing, mutually-protecting company of artisans—lay

TOWING A RUSSIAN BARGE.

ready to hand, waiting only for development.[1] Nor need more particular mention be made of the hundreds of Russian artisans sent abroad by the Government to learn trades. Many found it pleasanter to stay where they were. Of those who returned, the majority, finding themselves isolated among their countrymen, soon fell back into the old ways.

In spite of the want of roads in Russia, the numerous rivers, navigable at least in the spring, afford great facilities to internal commerce. One may even go by water from St. Petersburg to the Chinese frontier with very few and short breaks. When the rivers are frozen sledging is easy; and at the end of Peter's reign, or a little after, the cost of hauling a *pud*, or thirty-six English pounds, from Moscow to St. Petersburg, about 500 miles by road, was from four to five groschen. At this time the advantages of the inland commerce were almost entirely in the hands of the Russians, as foreigners were not allowed to bring their goods inland, or take Russian goods from the interior to the sea-ports. They had branch offices at various points in the interior, where they could make contracts to be carried out at the port of shipment. No real interference was made with this arrangement during Peter's reign, for the commercial treaties with Prussia and France were never strictly carried out, and neither the Prussians nor the Dutch could obtain permission to trade in the interior on equal terms with the Russians. The Armenians, indeed, had the right to bring Persian goods from Astrakhán to Archangel, Narva, and St. Petersburg, and to send foreign goods from those ports to Persia; but this was in the nature of a transit trade, great pre-

[1] Many of the regulations and changes introduced by Peter remain on the statute book unto the present day, not however on account of their excellence or advantage, but because no Government is so little influenced by the trading and financial classes as the Russian, where the merchants have no sure means of expressing their wants and bringing a pressure to bear upon the administration. The officials of the commercial departments have generally no practical knowledge of business, and are satisfied if their system works smoothly on paper. The number of vexatious regulations and petty restrictions affecting anyone desirous of establishing himself in business in Russia is almost incredible. I remember that in Moscow about 1866 nearly all the shop-signs had to be repainted because some police official disapproved of the grammatical case used after the words 'Trade' and 'Sale.'

cautions being taken that none of these goods should be sold in Russia.[1]

At this time the Asiatic trade was carried on entirely by land, the European commerce nearly all by sea. The Chinese trade was a monopoly of the Government, and was managed by caravans sent from Moscow through Tobolsk to the Chinese frontier at Nertchínsk, in which private persons were sometimes allowed a certain share. The return caravans were generally worth from 300,000 to 400,000 rubles, and in spite of the great distance the freight did not amount to more than five per cent. of the whole capital. The profits were very large, but the disorders in the Siberian administration were so great that a very small portion of them ever reached the treasury. A new route through Mongolia by the way of Urga (the present Kiakhta road), was discovered by the Siberian merchants and used for a long time for contraband traffic. With the Kalmuks, Bukhara, and Central Asia the trade was free, but of very small amount. The same was the case with the Turks and Tartars. But the silk trade with Persia was of such importance, both the direct and the transit trade, that the Tsar had great desire to get it into his hands. His movements in Asia, and especially the Persian campaign, were guided by commercial projects. It was then believed that colonies were necessary as markets for the trade of the home country, and the Tsar even listened to projects of establishment, in Madagascar and the Moluccas.

As regards the European commerce, there was a small trade from Kief and Little Russia towards Breslau, consisting originally of cattle sent to be sold at Breslau, and paid for partly in groceries and other provisions, and partly in money. After numerous tanneries had been established in the Ukraine, and foreign manufactures were subjected to a high duty in the seaports, great quantities of leather were sent by this route to Silesia, and much linen and other manufactured goods imported, which from Little Russia found entrance into the other provinces, thus escaping duties. At the same time, the cost of

[1] I follow here chiefly the excellent Report of Vockerodt to the Prussian Government in 1737, printed by Dr. E. Herrmann in *Russland unter Peter dem Grosse*, Leipzig, 1872.

transport being less, it was found that Russian leather was cheaper in Breslau than in St. Petersburg. As soon as this was perceived the Tsar strictly prohibited all trade on this route, except the old traffic in cattle. The increase of duties in the sea-ports caused also a large contraband trade from Toropétz and other parts of the province of Smolénsk towards Königsberg and Danzig. It was found impossible to break this up entirely, although such heavy confiscations and fines were imposed that many merchants who engaged in it were completely ruined.

The chief ports open to commerce were Riga, Reval, Narva, Viborg, Kola, Archangel, and St. Petersburg. The commerce at Riga was chiefly one of transit, grain and other products of Poland and Curland being brought to Riga to be shipped abroad, for the amount furnished by Livonia, especially after the war, was of very slight importance. During the war even this trade almost entirely disappeared, because as long as Sweden was mistress of the Baltic the harbour of Riga was kept shut, and it therefore sought other routes to Königsberg. After peace was finally made, the privileges granted at Riga, combined with the dissatisfaction caused by some new arrangements at Königsberg, soon restored the port to its old commercial importance. The trade at Reval was not the twentieth part of that of Riga, for although the port had received many privileges, yet, as it had no river communication with the interior, and the Russian trade which formally came there had been diverted to St. Petersburg, it was confined to the very small commerce of Esthonia, then reduced to great poverty. In the Swedish time the commerce of Narva had been little less than that of Riga, not only on account of the traffic coming from the neighbouring Russian provinces, but because the Persian and Armenian trade with Europe took this road, and the foreign merchants at Moscow frequently used it to import goods of which there was a deficiency at Archangel. The war and the transportation of the inhabitants of Narva to the interior of Russia totally ruined this trade, and even when the inhabitants were allowed to re-establish themselves, yet the Russian duties were imposed as well as other restrictions, in order that it might not rival St. Petersburg. The trade of Viborg, which had been the

chief port of Finland, was injured partly by the establishment of St. Petersburg, and then after the peace by the neighbouring port of Fredrikshamn, which attracted all the trade from the Swedish portion of Finland. At Kola, on the Northean Ocean, the sole trade was the importation of a little salt, in return for fish which were bought very cheaply. On the Lapland coast there had previously been free fisheries of seals and walruses, the oil of which was much esteemed in Hamburg as better than that from Greenland. These the Tsar made into a monopoly which he granted to Baron Shafírof. It brought in from 12,000 to 15,000 rubles yearly.

Nearly all the foreign commerce of Russia proper was concentrated at Archangel, which up to Peter's time was the only Russian port, and which, although open only the few summer months, was accessible from the interior by the river Dvina—nearly a thousand miles long—and its numerous branches. Goods could be taken by water from Moscow or Siberia, with the exception of 130 miles between Yaroslávˇ and Vologdá, which latter town had a great commercial importance. Archangel was ruined by the forcible transfer of its commerce to St. Petersburg. Had it not been for the severe measures taken, trade would for a long time yet have continued to seek Archangel, because, in addition to the hatred of the Russians to St. Petersburg, there were at first no roads thither except mere tracks through the forest, and until the completion of the canals no water communication. As long as the war lasted there was danger of capture on the Baltic, and heavy duties had to he paid on passing the Sound. For these reasons the foreigners, especially the Dutch, protested loudly against the change, though the merchants of Lübeck, who saw their advantage in the increase of trade in the Baltic, favoured it. All the advantages given by lower duties at St. Petersburg and in other ways were not sufficient to change the course of trade, for the cost of living there was far greater than at Archangel,[1] and

[1] The Dutch Minister complained that for a wooden house at St. Petersburg, which could not be compared with the most modest hut of the Dutch peasant, it was necessary to pay 800 or 900 florins, while at Moscow or Archangel a foreign merchant could live well on 200 florins a year. Beef at St. Petersburg was 5, 6, and 8 kopeks a pound, and of bad quality.

at first the road was so bad that even foreign ministers took five weeks to go from Moscow to St. Petersburg on account of the mud, and of being sometimes obliged to wait a week at a time at a station before they could get horses. As soon as the possession of St. Petersburg was thoroughly assured by the peace of Nystad, the Tsar ordered the Senate to take the necessary measures for speedily bringing about this change. The merchants made two long protests, which were supported even by the senators and ministers, and the old Grand-Admiral Apráxin was bold enough to say to the Tsar that through such changes he would ruin the whole of the merchants and bear the weight of unending and eternal tears.' The Tsar remained immovable, and in 1722 forbade any goods in future to be sent to Archangel other than those produced in that province or on the banks of the Dvina. Subsequently this prohibition was somewhat modified, but the duties were placed higher than those at St. Petersburg, which had the effect of keeping trade in that channel. In the end, especially after the improvement of the ways of communication, commerce accommodated itself to the new route, and the foreigners especially found it to their advantage, because the ships could make two journeys a year, and they were no longer obliged to keep separate establishments at Moscow and Vologda, all of which was sufficient to counterbalance the heavy Sound tolls paid to the Danes. At first there were great losses, not only in the ways specified, but because many debtors living in Siberia and remote provinces found it convenient not to pay up at the term, and several English and Dutch houses were ruined.[1]

The customs' duties at the beginning of the eighteenth century in Russia were on a different footing from those of other countries. All wares imported and exported, except grain and liquors, which had their separate duties, paid a duty of 4 per cent., but as, in accordance with old regulations, the duty was collected in full weight specie-thalers, and the thaler was taken as worth fifty kopeks only, when by the depreciation of the Russian currency it had risen to eighty and a hundred

[1] In 1722 there entered at St. Petersburg 116 foreign ships, at Riga, 231. In 1724 there arrived at St. Petersburg 240; Narva, 115; Riga, 303; Reval, 62; Viborg, 28.

kopeks and even more, the duties could safely be reckoned at 9 per cent. The merchant, however, had this advantage, that he had to pay on his cargo only one way, as the round trip was regarded as a single transaction, and, if on sending off a ship he paid the duties which he believed to be the highest, he had the return cargo free. The Tsar thought that the foreign traffic needed no such encouragement, and therefore resolved to separate the duties of the exports and imports, and a new tariff was issued in March, 1724, according to which Russian goods were in general taxed 6½ per cent., while foreign imports were taxed 11 per cent., except manufactures, on some of which, for the purpose of protecting home industry, there were imposed duties amounting to 30, 55, and even 80 per cent. A fourth more was added to the duties in the port of Archangel. The result of this was that the revenue from customs fell off instead of increasing, there being either fewer imports or a much greater contraband traffic.

The efforts of the Tsar to increase Russian trade abroad by means of Russian merchants proved abortive. Consuls were appointed at Cadiz, Bordeaux, and Toulon. Lists were published of the prices current in the chief European towns, 'that people may know where things are dear and where cheap,' and the Tsar even freighted some ships, partly with Government goods, and partly with contributions forced from the richest merchants, and sent them to Bordeaux and Cadiz. The expenses absorbed the whole of the capital, and the parties interested got little or nothing back. Soloviéf, at Amsterdam, was the only Russian merchant abroad who had credit and was respected for his knowledge and intelligence. In 1722 Bestúzhef wrote from Stockholm that a Russian ship had arrived from St. Petersburg, and that merchants had come from Reval bringing some wretched wares, a little linen cloth, wooden spoons and roasted nuts, which they sold from sledges; that they wore beards and old Russian clothes without neckties, were dirty and quarrelsome, and even cooked their food in the streets or near the bridge where the ships were anchored. The Swedes laughed so much that he forbade them to sell nuts and spoons and such trifles in Stockholm, or to cook their food in the streets, and at his own expense hired a house for them. He

begged the Tsar to issue a decree that they should live quietly without fighting and getting drunk, and keep their clothes clean.

Mention has already been made of the attempt to build a canal between the Volga and the Don, for the purpose of facilitating the passage of ships to the Black Sea. Subsequently other canals were begun, this time more in the interests of commerce. By a small canal, 4,550 feet long, at Víshny-Volotchók, on the road between St. Petersburg and Moscow, a water communication was established between the two small but navigable rivers Tsna and Khlina, and thus between the Volga and the Neva. While this canal greatly facilitated the transport of goods to St. Petersburg, yet there was always great difficulty in passing through Lake Ládoga, which is very subject to storms, every north wind either driving ashore or sinking the barges, which for navigating the shallow rivers had to be made with flat bottoms. The Tsar first devised a species of lighters with keels for the passage of the lake, but this necessitated two transshipments, and was far too expensive for bulk or heavy goods, such as hay, grain, and timber, which were especially needed at St. Petersburg. This caused him to look for a way of coming to St. Petersburg without passing through Lake Ládoga, and finding that there was no hindrance to a canal except the swamps, he resolved upon undertaking one.

The work was begun with such precipitation and under such bad management that in the first year a million and a half of rubles were spent, and on account of the bad commissariat many thousand workmen, including seven thousand Cossacks, died of disease and hunger before Menshikóf and Písaref agreed whether it was better to dig the canal in the earth or wall up a portion of the lake. The Tsar was on the point of abandoning the work entirely when he accepted the services of General Münnich, subsequently Field-Marshal, who, having long lived in Oldenburg and East-Friesland, had a practical knowledge of dikes and canals. The plan submitted by him seemed so plausible that, after another personal investigation on the spot, the Tsar fully approved it and gave him the execution

of the work. It proceeded so well that Peter almost fixed the day on which he could pass by water from St. Petersburg to Moscow. He had the satisfaction of seeing twenty miles ready before his death, but the canal which still serves the interests of commerce was not finished until afterwards. This was the beginning of that great system of canals completed in the early part of the present century, which, although only 455 miles long, connects the Baltic with the Black Sea, and the Caspian with the White Sea. Other proposed canals, one near Staraya-Rus, on Lake Ilmen, by which it was proposed to shorten the route from Moscow to St. Petersburg, and another near Vitigór, to join Lake Onéga with Lake Biélo-Ozero, were badly begun and never finished. As another advantage to the new capital the Tsar commenced building a straight road to Moscow, following nearly the line of the present railway, by which the distance would be shortened from five hundred to four hundred miles; but only eighty miles from St. Petersburg were completed.

We have several times spoken of Pososhkóf, a man too remarkable to be passed with a mere mention. Born somewhere about 1665 in the village of Pokrófskoe, now a part of Moscow, a free peasant, we find Ivan Pososhkóf arrested in the affair of the monk Abraham, who in 1697 handed the Tsar a paper containing reflections on his mode of life and government. Pososhkóf's innocence in the matter was proved and he was released. He next appears as the inventor of a kind of mitrailleuse, and after that as agriculturist, manufacturer, distiller, mint-director, and tax-farmer, practising many professions, and versed in the technicalities of many trades. He gradually accumulated wealth sufficient to raise him far above his class, although he was equally far below the great nobles and officials, with many of whom he enjoyed personal acquaintance. He was not only an active, but an active-minded man, a preacher too by nature, and one with the inspiration which made it necessary for him to preach even in the wilderness and to ears that refused to listen. When he had something to say he must say it, and we know of a number of memoirs which he presented or tried to present to official personages. His want of success never deterred him. One of these memoirs on the mint and the coining of money—

a business in which he had himself been engaged on Government account—he had hoped much from, but on account of the number of guards he found it impossible even to approach Makárof, the Tsar's secretary, and as a last resort gave it to one of the servants, who promised to deliver it. It never was heard of. Among his longer works are the 'Mirror,' in which he set forth the condition of the Church and the methods which should be taken to put down dissent; 'The Testament to his Son,' whom he had sent to study in Holland, hoping to educate him for a priest; and, most important of all, the book 'On Poverty and Riches,' on which he spent three of the later years of his life. He had several times come into conflict with the authorities, his house had been searched and his effects sealed up, and it required great courage for a man of his position, in a time when all political thought was suspicious and all writing dangerous, to investigate the whole political and social order, and attack the abuses of every branch of the administration, of which he himself had had so much experience. As he himself says: 'I am dismayed at having begun to write about such great things; but my exceeding zeal has pressed and compelled me to it. God is my witness that it has not come from any selfishness or for the sake of any profit, but only for the love which I bear to his Imperial Majesty, and because from my youth I have been always so situated that when I have seen anything evil I have preferred to suffer rather than repress my blame.' This treatise, which was completed in February, 1724, was intended for the Tsar's own eyes, though in all probability it never reached them. The author wished his name concealed from the officials, who would not be pleased with the truths which he had said about them, and who would attempt his life. 'Poverty and Riches' gives but a feeble idea of the contents of this book, which contains considerations on the whole state of Russia, the church, the army, the administration of justice, the mercantile class, the regulation of commerce and the furtherance of manufactures, the extirpation of robbers, the peasantry, agriculture, the whole system of taxation, and the currency. There is much that is false, much that is trivial, but more that is true and well thought out. Pososhkóf had followed with care the reforms and innovations of the Tsar, sympathised with him

fully in the necessity of reorganising Russia, but frequently differed from him as to the means to be employed. In one respect there was a thorough agreement—that was in the belief that force was often the best if not the only remedy. A remarkable difference was that Pososhkóf detested foreigners, and aimed more at the development of existing institutions than at the introduction of foreign ones.

What the author feared came to pass. A few months after Peter's death he was arrested and handed over to the Secret Tribunal. The charges against him are not explicitly stated; but from the fact that in those very days the persons implicated in the affair of Theodosius, Archbishop of Novgorod, were asked whether among the books of the Archbishop there was a copy of Pososhkóf's 'Poverty and Riches,' this book was the probable cause of his arrest. His property was confiscated, although a portion was allowed to go to his daughter, and two years after he had finished his book he died in prison.[1]

[1] Russian Laws; Soloviéf, xvi., xviii.; Gradófsky: Count D. Tolstói, *History of the Financial Institutions of Russia*, St. Petersburg, 1848; W. Stieda, *Peter der Grosse als Mercantilist*, in *Russische Revue*, iv., 193–248, 1874; Vockerodt in E. Herrmann, *Russland unter Peter dem Grossen*, Leipzig, 1872; A. Brückner, *Peter der Grosse;* id. *Iwan Possoschkow*, Leipzig, 1878; *Works* of Ivan Pososhkóf, ed. of Pogódin, Moscow, 1842.

LXXIV.

CHURCH REFORM, 1710—1724.

The provisional government of the church established at the death of the Patriarch Adrian, in 1700, continued for over twenty years, until the foundation of the Holy Directing Synod. The Patriarchate was in abeyance and Stephen Yavórsky, the Metropolitan of Riazán, remained guardian of the patriarchal throne.[1] It was not easy to find a patriarch who would agree with Peter's views, and it was not advisable to give such power to one who might oppose them, still less was it advisable during the war to make any violent change which might excite hostility or increase the prevailing discontent. Besides, Peter had for a long time little idea of what change he wished to make. He desired to render the Church subordinate to the State, and feared a rival who might prove as dangerous as the Patriarch Nikon. He wished to improve the condition and education of the parochial clergy and render them less dependent on the monastic hierarchy. He wished, too, that the people should be taught the moral side of religion, precepts and duties rather than ceremonies and observances, which then chiefly formed their religious life, and would gladly have cleared the church of its superstitions. In this respect, however, he viewed religion more from the point of view of the State than of the individual. Personally Peter had a strong religious turn, though he had sometimes strange ways of showing it; his education and his life had given him latitudinarian ideas little in accord with the Russian Church of his day, and he was not only lax in observance, but he even at times ridiculed those who were strict. Only after years, and

[1] See p. 142.

after his innovations had met with such earnest opposition, did he come to understand the deep religious character of the Russian people, and to be more cautious. It was not until 1716 that he obtained, on account of his health, from the Patriarch at Constantinople a dispensation from keeping Lent, and for the soldiers in active service permission to eat meat on fast days.

The Tsar had been disappointed in Stephen Yavórsky, who had first attracted his attention by a sermon at the funeral of the Boyar Shéïn. Yavórsky had studied in the Jesuit colleges in Poland, and had at one time even embraced Catholicism; although he had come back to the Eastern Church, he still retained a tincture of clericalism, not to say fanaticism. He had the reputation for that time of a great orator, and although his methods smacked very much of the schools, yet his sonorous and pleasing voice, his frequent gestures and mobile expression, together with a copious fund of anecdotes and analogies, enabled him to move his auditors now to tears and now to smiles. For the first time Peter heard anything like oratory in the Russian Church, and was pleased at the same time with the clear eye and intelligent air of Yavórsky, who was then only forty-two. He was not himself so thoroughly acquainted with western civilisation as to discover what was merely the borrowed form and what the original thought, and was convinced that the preacher would be a man fit to aid him. In later years, as a hostile writer says, 'he found that in that sack he had captured a fox and not a hare.' Yavórsky was, as we have seen, promoted against his will to be Metropolitan of Riazán, and was afterwards entrusted with the government of the church, and during the first years he forced himself to enter into many of the Tsar's ideas, and rendered him many services for which he was bountifully paid. Peter was fond of sermons, and no occasion, whether a New Year day, a church feast, or a triumph, could be properly celebrated without a sermon from Yavórsky. He was at first, we remember, looked upon with suspicion by the old Muscovite clergy because he had come from Kief, and even the Greeks accused him of heresy and leaning to the Latin Church. At that time the Tsar was his only support, but as years passed by his position in the church became better, and gradually, as he saw the prospect of the Patriarchate fade

from him, and he had more frequent collisions with the civil authorities about church matters, and especially about church property, which was being taken from pious uses and used for the support of the army, he drew away from the Tsar and strengthened himself more and more in his clericalism, in his belief in the necessity of a church independent of, if not superior to, the State. Not that in truth Yavórsky was personally ambitious, for he was by nature intended for a hermitage, whither indeed he often tried to escape. The annoyances of life both at Moscow and at St. Petersburg were great to him, for as a clergyman he could not endure the thought of being subordinate to a civilian; he hated the turmoil of the reform period, and remembered his quiet life in the monasteries of Little Russia. What made him desire the re-establishment of the Patriarchate was because he believed that the Patriarch was the proper head of the Church. His feelings occasionally found vent in sermons, though it was a long time before he dared to deliver them. One written in 1708 was directed against the appropriation of the church funds to civil purposes, and contained a passage about King Belshazzar drinking out of the holy vessels, and a picture drawn from one of the banquets of which Peter was so fond. There was even an allusion to the great bowl which had to be drained as a fine for not drinking enough. But at the end of the sermon we find the words *non dictum*. There were many such sermons. Another gave a picture of the voluptuous man who had persuaded his wife to become a nun. 'Live there if you will with the angels, only not with me. Better for me is a harlot than to have you as my wife.' But on the feast of St. Alexis in 1712, Yavórsky at last ventured on a bold step. He attacked, as we remember, the fiscals and prayed for Alexis as 'our only hope;' more than that, he inveighed directly against the Tsar for committing adultery, for coveting his neighbour's wife, for abandoning his own, for not observing the fasts or reverencing the images, and spoke of him as no better than a publican and a sinner. Among the senators present in church were some who disliked Yavórsky. They brought the sermon to the Tsar, who read and annotated it carefully, and against the passage referring to himself marked in pencil, 'First alone, then with wit-

nesses,' meaning that while the preacher might blame what he thought wrong, as in the case of the fiscals, yet in a personal matter he had not carried out the precepts of the Gospel, to admonish privately before speaking in public. Yavórsky's excuses were accepted. The Tsar did not wish to make a martyr of him, as he knew that he now exercised considerable influence in the Church and over the people; allowed him to keep his rank, and apparently paid no more attention to the sermon, though for some time Yavórsky was forbidden to preach and was always after that an object of suspicion.

Yavórsky had a pliable but elastic nature. Not daring to make direct opposition, he endeavoured indirectly to thwart Peter's schemes for diminishing the wealth and power of the Church and other reforms, so that little was really accomplished, and yet acted so cautiously that no direct blame could be attached to him. Enjoined to establish schools with the income of the Patriarchate, he founded the Academy at Moscow only, and not a single school in his own diocese. He was by no means careful of the fitness or learning of the priests he ordained, and allowed his brother and other relatives to enrich themselves from the church revenues or by exacting heavy fees. In 1713 he brought up the case of Tveritínof and others in Moscow, who, more or less free-thinkers, were disseminating Protestant notions, and who had done this without censure for many years. A pupil in the ecclesiastical seminary, Maxímof, was accused before the spiritual authorities of spreading heresy. It was shown easily enough that he had learned this from Tveritínof, who in turn associated with the Protestants and foreigners protected by the Tsar. In this way it was thought to put the Tsar in a difficult position. If he rejected the anathema and the sentence of the Church against the heretics, he would discredit his own orthodoxy before the people; if he allowed the heretics to be burned as the laws of the Church demanded, he would show his inconsistency. The case was transferred to St. Petersburg and placed before the Senate. The accused without delay declared their innocence, and professed themselves orthodox. They were released and Yavórsky was ordered to state the fact publicly in church. This was a blow to the Metropolitan, who had ready for print a huge

volume, 'The Rock of the Faith,' directed against heresy and especially against Protestantism, and he insisted on continuing the case, in consequence of having discovered a tract and a collection of texts in the possession of Tveritínof, which he claimed argued against the reverence of images. No witnesses were allowed to be brought up in favour of the accused, but even this would not have been enough had not one of them, a barber Thomas Ivánof, committed an act which in a certain way justified the action of the Metropolitan. Having been taken to church in chains, in order to receive religious instruction, wearied out by imprisonment and ill-treatment, Ivánof defaced one of the holy pictures with a knife which he had concealed upon his person. A trial was immediately had before the archbishops, the heretics were publicly anathematised, and Tveritínof and Ivánof were condemned and handed over to the civil authorities for punishment. The barber Ivánof was burned in Moscow, but Tveritínof got off with temporary imprisonment in a monastery, and turned the tables on the Metropolitan by accusing him before the Senate of heresy in having distributed a translation of the 'Meditationes Sacræ' of the Lutheran Gerhardt. Yavórsky claimed that he had never read the book himself, which had been dedicated to him by the Archbishop of Tchernígof. Soon after this affair, which had lasted three years, Yavórsky wished to go to Niezhin, where he was constructing a monastery, and petitioned the newly-born Tsarévitch Peter to obtain leave for him. The leave was granted, but the Tsar accompanied it with a special letter of instruction as to his future conduct, cautioning him to be careful how he excommunicated persons on account of private disputes, ordering him 'to treat the opponents of the Holy Church rationally, legally, and with mildness,' to keep the monks within the rules, to build no more churches and ordain no more priests than necessary, to visit his diocese once a year, 'to forbid dissent, superstition and impious veneration, the deification of holy pictures and the ascription to them of false miracles,[1] and not to interfere in civil affairs.'

[1] The mysterious appearance of miracle-working holy pictures has never been uncommon in Russia. Peter discovered and severely punished one deception of this kind at St. Petersburg in 1720.

Yavórsky was strongly suspected of being a partisan of Alexis, and in order to render him perfectly harmless, the Tsar in 1718 ordered him to live henceforth in St. Petersburg, whither he went much against his will. Permission was given to print his book 'The Rock of Faith,' in spite of its covert attacks on the Tsar, but owing to circumstances it did not appear during his life.

In St. Petersburg he met as a colleague and favourite of the Tsar one whom he had just accused of heresy, Theophán Prokópovitch of Kíef. This was a man of very different character, who, left an orphan at an early age, had through the favour of an uncle been educated in the schools at Kíef, then studied at Lemberg, Cracow, and finally at Rome, where as a Uniate he entered into the college of St. Athanasius, specially founded for Greeks and Slavs. He was a great favourite of his Jesuit teachers, who frequently proposed him to enter their order, but the lectures on philosophy and scholastic theology did not please him so much as reading the Fathers of the Church, and especially the Greek and Latin classics. He made thorough acquaintance with the manners and discipline of the Church of Rome, witnessed the election of Pope Clement XI. in 1700 and the attendant intrigues, and prepared himself to be a great opponent of the Papacy. Returning to Little Russia he became a teacher in the Academy of Kíef, and here made the acquaintance of the Tsar by his sermon after the battle of Poltáva.[1] Peter took Theophán with him during the campaign of the Pruth, and subsequently called him to St. Petersburg. Being detained for nearly a year by illness, Theophán did not find the Tsar on his arrival in 1716, but he was welcomed by Menshikóf, and busied himself with sermons and pamphlets explanatory of the reforms of the Tsar. In this way he made himself very useful. His eloquence was greater than that of Yavórsky, and he had a directness of style which appealed more to his hearers and readers. He was then in the prime of life and energy—about thirty-eight years of age. He was not beyond ingratiating himself with the Tsar in other ways. For Peter's return in 1717 he composed three congratulatory speeches, one of which was

[1] See page 126.

delivered by the Princess Anne, one by the son of Prince Menshikóf, and the third he spoke himself. He even defended what the clergy at Moscow had attacked—the Tsar's private character. 'There are people,' he said, 'to whom everything unusual, amusing, great, or celebrated, seems sinful and wicked. They do not love happiness in itself. Whenever they see a man healthy or living well they consider him impious. They would be glad to have everyone ugly, humpbacked, dark-featured, and ill-favoured.' During the affair of Alexis, Theophán preached a sermon on the power and honour of the Tsar, in which he showed that the will of the Tsar should be sacredly obeyed by his subjects. This sermon contained many allusions to existing circumstances, and covert insinuations against the clergy who opposed the reforms. 'Many think that all people are not bound to submit to the authorities, that some like priests and monks are excepted. These are tares, the tooth of the serpent, the Papal spirit which has in some way crept in among us.' When he was nominated as Archbishop of Pskof and Narva he was accused of heresy by the clergy of Moscow, including the learned Greeks there, and in this attack Yavórsky joined. The Protestant leanings of which he was accused were not particularly displeasing to the Tsar, and it was easy for him to establish his orthodoxy to the Tsar's satisfaction. Yavórsky on arriving at St. Petersburg was obliged to retract his accusations, defending himself again by saying that he had never read the book which he blamed, but had accepted the report of his colleagues, and a seeming reconciliation took place between the prelates.

Now that the active operations of war had ended in the complete victory of Russia there was no longer so much danger in touching the religious question, and after the introduction of the collegiate system into the civil government, it seemed to the Tsar that nothing could be better than to introduce it also into the Church. Having seen too in Protestant countries the possibility of church government in similar forms, he was the more ready to adopt the system of an Assembly or Synod. The preparation of the Spiritual Regulation, which was put in force in 1721, was entrusted to Theophán Prokópovitch, although every article was revised and sometimes rewritten by

member of the Synod was a Greek priest, Anastasius Kondoïdes, who had been connected with the Patriarchate at Constantinople, and had been a translator for the Porte, but in consequence of services rendered to the Russian Legation had been deprived of his positions and had come to Russia.

One of the great desires of the Tsar was the reform of the monasteries. He wished to suppress many of those existing, reduce the number of monks, and render those who remained useful in some degree to the State. A report made in 1724 showed that there were then 14,534 monks and 10,673 nuns. The regulations for this purpose were well adapted to bring about the result without too much disturbance, and might have had great effect had not the death of Peter caused them to fall into desuetude. In order that religious service might be carried on properly and decorously, at least thirty monks were obliged to reside in each monastery. Monasteries not containing so many were to be turned into parish churches and schools, and the monks sent to other cloisters. It was forbidden under heavy penalties to administer the vows to any nobleman, any official of the Government, no matter what his rank, to anyone who could not read or write, to any minor, any citizen or any peasant without special permission. This covered nearly all classes of society, and the only persons excepted were priests who had lost their wives, and could therefore, according to the doctrines of the Eastern Church, no longer perform service. It can easily be seen that if this regulation had been strictly carried out, the number of monasteries would soon have become very small.

In a decree of 1723 with regard to the monasteries the Tsar gives a brief history of monachism, and continues: 'When some Greek Emperors, not reverencing their rank, began to be hypocrites, and their wives worse, they began to construct monasteries, even in the cities, and bestow wealth upon them, so that many people lived in idleness, and in this way the Emperors caused much harm to themselves and their people. On the Bosphorus, between the Black Sea and Constantinople, there were three hundred monasteries, so that when the Turks besieged Constantinople not more than six thousand warriors could be found. This gangrene began to spread itself much

among us under the influence of the Patriarchs. But God did not deprive even former Russian princes of His mercy, as He did the Greeks, so that they were able to restrain it somewhat. The northern climate of our country has also not allowed the monks to get their living without work.'

In religious matters Peter was personally of a tolerant disposition, and he endeavoured to inculcate toleration in others so far as the prejudices of the clergy allowed, as we have seen in the affair of Tveritínof. Two decrees published shortly after the foundation of the Synod bear witness to this. By one the validity of Protestant and Catholic baptism is recognised, by the other marriages are permitted between foreigners and persons belonging to the Russian Church, provided that the children be orthodox and that no efforts be made to convert the orthodox wife or husband. Towards the Dissenters he was for that day very liberal. A number of refugees had settled upon the river Výga, where they in time formed a noted dissenting community. Gathering in a rude monastery they had built, defended by earthworks and cannon, under the leadership of Daniel Vykúlin and Andrew Denísof, the latter a man of strong and energetic character, descended from the Princes Myshétsky, little by little they prospered, but, when in 1702 the Tsar was going from Archangel to the Gulf of Finland, and passed near their neighbourhood, they were greatly frightened. Some prepared for death, others for resistance, and others for flight. When the Tsar was told that Dissenters were living on the Výga, all he said was: 'Let them live as they like.' Subsequently, when iron works were being established in the woods of Olónetz, he inquired whether among the Dissenters there were any good and honest smiths, and added, 'If there are, then let them believe what they will, for if reason cannot turn them from their superstition, neither fire nor sword can do it. It is foolish to make them martyrs. They are unworthy of the honour, and would not in this way be of use to the State.' They were persuaded, even forced to work in the Government forges started by General Henning, and although they complained of the 'yoke' put upon them, yet they were on the whole contented to live quietly in the free practice of their religion. Simeon Denísof, the brother of An-

drew, was caught by the spiritual authorities in 1714 and taken to Nóvgorod, where the Archbishop Job was a man by no means lenient to Dissenters. The Tsar had him brought to Moscow, himself examined him and ordered his release, but Job for some years yet kept him in his clutches. Meanwhile the Abbot Pitirím was endeavouring by persuasion to induce the Dissenters of the Volga to return to the fold of the Church. In this he had a certain amount of success, but he complained of the many parish priests who, when a registration of the Dissenters had been ordered, had been bribed to describe them as orthodox. Their registration had been desired not so much for the purpose of prosecuting them as, in a spirit of compromise, with the idea of drawing a revenue fron their heresy, double taxes being imposed upon all Dissenters. After the formation of the Synod they were exhorted to appear without fear, state their difficulties of belief, and see whether they could not be persuaded out of them. Naturally enough such measures had no effect. On the contrary their numbers yearly increased, more from civil than religious reasons. All the discontented took refuge among them, dishonest officials, fugitive criminals, deserters, runaway slaves. The burdens caused by quartering the military in the peasant villages also had effect in this way. The more the Government tried to control the movements of the people, the more the masses tried to remove themselves from this control. The necessity of passports produced the fabrication of false passports. The numerous wanderers in the Russian land, some half-crazed, some putting on the air of simplicity to avoid work, kept the Dissenters on the borders in close communication with their fellow-believers in the interior. Books, pictures, relics, loaves of holy bread were sent from one community to the other, with an organisation which was almost as perfect as that of the Government itself. From thousands the Dissenters became hundreds of thousands, if not millions. Against such as he considered hostile to the State rather than to the Church, Peter gave up at times his tolerant principles. The measures against them became more frequent and more complicated. It was thought to mark them out from the body of the population by distinctive signs and differences of clothing, but true Dissenters were rather proud

than otherwise of the distinction. At one time the Tsar issued an order that no more Dissenters sentenced to forced labour should be sent to Siberia, 'as there were enough of them there already.' The contest then begun continued through the whole of Peter's reign, and has never yet ceased.

The reforms in the Church, thanks to Theophán Prokópovitch, seem better thought out and calculated to be more effective than many other measures introduced by Peter. It is curious, however, to observe the opinions of Vockerodt, a contemporary, and of Prince Stcherbátof, who lived a generation afterwards. Vockerodt says: 'It is still an undecided question whether Peter I. acted *en bon politique* in wishing to educate his clergy and bring them out of their previous barbarism and ignorance, and whether if he had succeeded in it he and his posterity would not have found it much harder to carry out their future designs, especially if they conflicted with the clerical interests. At least there are sensible people of this opinion, that he could scarcely have brought his reforms so far if he had to deal with a more adroit clergy, who had known how to win the love and respect of the people, and use them rightly for their own interests.' Prince Michael Stcherbátof, in the curious manuscript (written in 1788) which he left on the *Depravation of Morals in Russia*—which he chiefly ascribes to the innovations of Peter—after praising his action with regard to cutting off beards, the eradication of superstition, the indulgence for eating meat during the fasts, and in general the Spiritual Regulation, says: 'What did he effect by this? Only that in rooting out superstition from the unenlightened people, he at the same time rooted out belief in the law of God. . . . The prohibition of superstitious practices brought harm to the very foundations of faith. Superstition was lessened, but faith was also lessened. A servile fear of hell disappeared, but the love of God and of His holy law also disappeared. Morals which had rested upon faith in the absence of enlightenment, by losing this support began to be depraved.'

Enough has been said about Peter's desire to spread education in Russia to render details superfluous. We know of his efforts to found schools, to establish libraries and museums, to translate and print useful books. We can only state that the

result was very meagre. Peter remained alone in his desire for education. He met with little response from his subjects. There was of course no thought then of popular schools. What Peter desired was the acquisition of a practical knowledge, that he might have better officers, better officials, better priests, and better workmen. Though youths and young men were drafted into schools to study geometry and engineering, though others were sent abroad to study, yet not all profited by their opportunities. We learn in various ways that the conduct of the Russian students abroad was by no means satisfactory, whether in their studies or in their morals. Some refused to study at all. Golovín, for instance, shut himself up for four years in his room at Venice, and came home as ignorant of Italian and the navy as when he left. The navy long lacked educated officers, and in its general decline after Peter's death even those who could be of service found it better to seek a career in another direction. Many hundreds of artisans returned in the last years of Peter's reign, after having passed some years abroad, and becoming tolerably skilled in their work; but they were soon lost in the crowd of the ignorant. In the higher classes of society the foreign education, whether received abroad or in Russia by means of tutors, succeeded in creating a school of polite and skilled diplomatists and statesmen, and gave a tone to Russian society which still exists. This, however, was not exactly what Peter desired, for the young nobles learnt the vices as well as the virtues of western civilisation; and the history of Russian society, like that of some other countries, shows that a foreign education is by no means the best to make good servants of their country. In a patriotic sense that education is best which begins at home.[1]

[1] Soloviêf, xvi., xviii.; Brückner, *Peter der Grosse;* Vockerodt; Pekársky, *Science and Literature in Russia under Peter the Great*, St. Petersburg, 1862; Y. Samárin, *Stephen Yavórsky and Theophán Prokópovitch*, Moscow, 1880; F. Ternófsky, 'Stephen Yavórsky,' in *Old and New Russia*, 1879; Bantýsh-Kámensky, *Dictionary.*

LXXV.

THE ALAND CONGRESS. THE PEACE OF NYSTAD. 1718–1721.

The negotiations for peace arranged between Baron Goertz and Prince Kurákin at Loo, in the summer of 1717, did not begin within the two or three months that the Tsar had hoped. He had promised Abo in Finland as the place for the conference, while Goertz preferred Öregrund in Sweden, and as a compromise they had agreed upon the village of Löfö, near Bomarsund, on the island of Aland. Baron Goertz and Count Gyllenborg were the Swedish, and General Bruce and the Councillor Osterman (both foreigners by birth), were the Russian plenipotentiaries. The latter set out at the beginning of January (1718), and on reaching Abo put themselves in communication with the Swedes, but owing to delays of various kinds, even the ice for some time preventing communications, it was already May 23 before the first conference was held. The Russians, who were in possession of the island, had torn down several large houses of pastors and Government officials in the neighbouring villages, and constructed with these materials at Löfö two large wooden houses for the plenipotentiaries and their numerous attendants. The Swedes had as secretary Stambke, a Holsteiner, and in their suite six cavaliers of good family, two secretaries and sixty-seven servants, besides fifty-seven soldiers, fifty-three horses, &c., and to make an impression on the Russians, Goertz is said to have borrowed the silver and table ware of the Duke of Holstein. The Russians were much more modest. To avoid ceremonies and formalities Peter had suggested that two rooms should be taken in the same house, one by each side, then the partition wall be taken down, and thus both Russians and Swedes could sit each in their own apartment and without ceremony carry on the conference, such

having been the method observed at the negotiations for the treaty of Carlowitz.

The conditions which Bruce and Osterman were instructed to propose were: 1st. The cession by Sweden of Ingria, Livonia, Esthonia, including Reval, and Karelia, as well as the city of Viborg. 2nd. The restitution to Sweden of Finland beyond the river Kymmene. 3rd. The freedom for commercial purposes of the straits and inlets of the Finnish coast. 4th. Freedom of trade between the two countries. 5th. The recognition of Augustus II. as King of Poland and peace between Sweden and Poland. 6th. The cession of Stettin to the King of Prussia. 7th. The King of Denmark to be included in the treaty if he should be willing to give up all Swedish territory that he had conquered. 8th. The King of England, as Elector of Brunswick, to be included if he wished to make an honourable peace within six months.

The conditions of the Tsar were in general well enough known to Goertz during the negotiations in Holland, but apparently he had not dared to state them fully to his master. He was satisfied with having obtained the consent of Charles to negotiations, and hoped to lead him gradually to the necessary concessions. Two courses were open, either to make peace and possibly an alliance with Russia, and use this as a weapon against the rest of the allies, or to come to an understanding with Hanover, Prussia and Denmark, and isolate Russia. The leading Swedes, who were all opposed to Goertz, and who believed the German possessions a source of weakness to Sweden, preferred the second course; but Goertz, who set before Charles that the strength of a monarch lay in his army, and had done his best to obtain from him money and troops even at the risk of exhausting the country, hoped that by first making peace with the Tsar, who was the most dangerous enemy, he could succeed in retaining for Sweden most of the German possessions, and perhaps in addition conquer Norway, and receive Mecklenburg as an indemnity. At the same time he pulled so many wires that it is with some difficulty we can see the real drift of his designs. Even on the way from Holland to Sweden he was engaged in three intrigues, one for a separate peace between Sweden and Russia, another for a

separate peace between Sweden and Prussia, and a third for a great European alliance against Russia, headed by Poland and King Augustus.

Goertz had in his pockets instructions signed by the King, but they were of such a character that he could not divulge them without seeing the immediate dissolution of the congress. They were, in brief, that Russia should restore to Sweden all the provinces conquered in the war, with everything they had contained—men, money, provisions, &c.—and should pay, in addition, a money indemnity for having unjustly begun the war. The first sessions of the congress were therefore taken up chiefly with endeavours on the part of each side to find out just how far the other was willing to go. The Swedes wished it laid down as a preliminary that Livonia and Esthonia were to be returned. The Russians refused to negotiate except on the basis that Livonia and Esthonia were to be retained. The dispute gradually narrowed down to Reval, without which the Swedes considered Finland would be of no use to them; and equally the Russians could not allow the Swedes to have a port like Reval, commanding the entrance to the Gulf of Finland. In private conversations Goertz said a good deal about an *equivalent*, and there were hints that possibly such an equivalent might be found in Mecklenburg, as the Duke, who was disliked by his subjects, could easily be put somewhere else. In the middle of June Goertz went back to consult with the King, and, as he was leaving, Osterman, by instructions, promised him, in case the treaty were arranged to the satisfaction of the Tsar, the best sable cloak that could be found in Russia and a hundred thousand thalers besides.

When Goertz returned in the middle of July he still disputed in the conferences about Reval, Viborg, and Kexholm; but privately to Osterman he communicated astounding and wide-reaching plans, by which Russia was to form a close offensive and defensive alliance with Sweden, and, as equivalent for the ceded provinces, assist Charles XII. in conquering Norway, Mecklenburg, Bremen, Verden, and even parts of Hanover. Prussia was to give up Stettin and receive part of Poland; Poland was to be occupied and Stanislas restored. After communicating this project to Osterman Goertz went back to Sweden to

persuade the King, and, at his suggestion, Osterman went to St. Petersburg to consult the Tsar. Goertz did his best with both Müllern and the King. Müllern proposed his old plan of a separate peace and alliance with England, and added that it was 'necessary for Sweden to have back Livonia and Esthonia.' 'Good,' said Goertz, 'but there is one little difficulty—that the Tsar will never give them back. Force him to do so, and *magnus mihi eris Apollo*.' The King was taken with the visionary conquests, but nevertheless held to his old ideas, with a slight concession. The Tsar could keep Ingria and Karelia, which had once belonged to Russia, but he must 'naturally give up Livonia, Esthonia, and Finland, which had been conquered in an unjust war,' and in Poland must remain neutral in the contest between Augustus and Stanislas. Goertz went back nearly hopeless. 'My mission,' he said, 'is to fool the Russians, if they are big enough fools to be fooled.'

To propitiate Count Gyllenborg Osterman had secured the release of his brother, a prisoner of war; and to please the King Field Marshal Rehnskjöld was exchanged for General Golovín and Prince Trubeltskoy. When Rehnskjöld stopped at Löfö, on his way to Stockholm, Osterman did his best to cajole him into giving a favourable report of the internal situation of Russia, and explained to him at length the affair of the Tsarévitch Alexis. The Russian plenipotentiaries had thought that one obstacle to peace was the opinion of the Swedes that internal disturbances would soon break out in Russia. When Goertz returned he stated that the King would consent to peace if the Tsar would bind himself to assist him against Denmark. This the Russian plenipotentiaries decidedly refused, and declared that if the previous conditions were not accepted during the month of December the congress would not be prolonged. Goertz then, giving his word of honour that he would be back in four weeks, again went to the Norwegian frontier to consult the King.

The four weeks passed by, but Goertz did not return. In the last days of December the servants of Baron Sparre arrived with intelligence which threw all the Swedes into consternation. The next day Stambke, who was to a considerable extent under Russian influence, came to the Russian plenipotentiaries, asked

BEARING THE BODY OF CHARLES XII.

for their protection, and informed them that a courier had arrived at Stockholm; that the young Duke of Holstein, Baron Goertz, and all the Holsteiners in Stockholm had been suddenly arrested; that all ships at Stockholm were detained, and foreign correspondence forbidden. For ten days no further news came; but on January 3, while the Swedish plenipotentiaries were dining with the Russians, they heard that a Swedish captain had arrived. Gyllenborg hastened home, while Stambke, though several times sent for, refused to go, and spent the night at the Russian headquarters. The next day it was announced that King Charles had been killed in Norway at the siege of Fredriksten, that all the Ministers of Holstein had been arrested, and that the captain had come there to arrest Stambke. As Stambke was protected by the Russians the captain returned to Stockholm.

Late in the autumn of 1718 King Charles started on an expedition to Norway, for which he had been preparing for several months. He laid siege to the town of Fredrikshall, situated at the end of one of the long fiords, or rather—for Fredrikshall was an open town—to the castle of Fredriksten which commanded it. On the evening of December 11 he rode to the outer parallel, and watched with great impatience the operations of the enemy, who, after it grew dark, by means of hot shot lighted up the ground and disturbed the operations of a detachment of his men engaged in bringing a trench nearer to the walls of the fortress. In spite of the remonstrances of Maigret, who begged him not to expose himself to such danger, the King climbed up and leaned on the breastwork with his chin on his left hand. A group of officers were standing so close to him that the King's feet almost touched Maigret's head. Suddenly there was a slight thud, and General Kaulbars noticed that the King's left hand, which had supported his head, fell to his side, and that his head sank upon his shoulder. Thinking that the King had been shot, he uttered a cry of horror. Maigret pulled the King's cloak, but there was no answer, no movement. A musket ball from the fortress had penetrated his left temple, and the King was dead.[1]

[1] In August, 1859, in the presence of King Charles XV. and of his brother Oscar (the present King of Sweden, who has published a description of the

Charles had always been unwilling to make provision for the succession, and to decide between the conflicting claims of his nephew, the young Duke of Holstein, and his sister, Ulrica Eleonora, the wife of the Crown Prince of Hesse-Cassel. The adherents of the Holstein family were at that moment too disorganised to take immediate action. Word was at once sent to Stockholm of the catastrophe, and Ulrica ascended the throne without opposition.

One of the first steps taken by the new Government was the arrest of Goertz and the partisans of the Duke of Holstein, partly on account of the universal hatred to Goertz in all classes of the population, and partly from fear lest, if he succeeded in joining the Duke of Holstein, he would render him valuable assistance in some enterprise against the throne. Goertz was then momentarily expected at the camp before Fredrikshall, and the Prince of Hesse therefore sent Colonel Baumgarten, a faithful adherent of the late King, who was besides a personal enemy of Goertz, with orders to take him dead or alive. When Goertz was arrested by Baumgarten near the church of Tanum, greatly astonished he asked: 'Does the King still live?' to which Baumgarten replied: 'When I last spoke with him he was alive.' All his papers and money were seized, and for fear lest he should commit suicide he was not even allowed to have a knife and fork for his supper. Goertz passed the night partly in reading and reflection, partly in writing a short letter to the King, in which he declared his own devotion and protested against the intrigues of his enemies. When he delivered the letter to Baumgarten the next morning he was for the first time informed of the King's death. In spite of illness he was taken immediately to Stockholm, and placed in strict confinement. The hatred of the Queen, the bitterness of the nobles, and the rage of the common people were so great that the death of Goertz was demanded either with or without trial, and that

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circumstances), the coffin of King Charles XII. was opened. An examination of the head proved beyond a doubt that the wound which caused the King's death came from the bullet of an enemy, and that he was not murdered by one of his own men, as had often been maintained. See the Official Protocol in *Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiqvitets Akademiens Handlingar*. Ny följd, 5th Delen, p. 311. Stockholm, 1867.

most speedily. There were fears lest, if he were tried for high treason before the high court of justice, he would be acquitted, for he was not a Swedish subject and had never taken the oath of allegiance. He was a servant of the King and not of the State, and his acts had therefore been covered by the absolute authority of Charles XII. For this reason a special commission was appointed to try him. He was accused of inspiring the King with ill-will towards Sweden, of misusing the King's confidence and suggesting to him measures hurtful to the State, and of encouraging him to continue the war. The whole proceeding was tinged with illegality and irregularity. Goertz was not allowed to have counsel, to confront witnesses, or to have time to defend himself. It had taken three weeks to draw up the indictment, and he was given three half days to refute it, during the greater part of which he was incapacitated by illness. Nevertheless, the trial was finished early in February, 1719, and Goertz was condemned to be beheaded and to be buried under the scaffold. Against this last and defamatory clause he protested, but his protests were as unheeded now as at any time before. He passed the last days of his imprisonment partly in reading philosophy, partly in conversation with Pastor Conradi, and was beheaded on March 3, 1719. Before placing his head on the block he said: 'You bloodthirsty Swedes, take the blood you have so long thirsted for.' His head fell at the first blow; the executioners placed his body in a coffin and buried it on the spot. Soon afterwards, when the whole town was occupied with the stately funeral pageant of Charles XII., his servants profited by the occasion to take up his body and send it to his family. Among the mottoes and inscriptions which he wrote on the wall of his prison is his epitaph, which almost makes one forget the misery which his advice unquestionably brought upon Sweden:—

> A la veille de conclure un grand traité de paix mon héros périt.
> Le Royaume avec lui.
> Et moi aussi.
> C'est toujours mourir en grande compagnie,
> Quand on meurt avec son roi et sa patrie.

After the news of the death of Charles XII. Osterman went back to St. Petersburg, while Bruce remained. Late in Febru-

ary, he received from Count Gyllenborg a letter from the Queen, addressed to the Tsar, stating that she hoped for the renewal of peace between Russia and Sweden, and desired the prolongation of the congress; that instead of Baron Goertz, she would send Baron Lilienstedt. The arrival of Lilienstedt was delayed, and from the conversation of Gyllenborg, who said that the Russians should now give easier terms of peace, Bruce came to the opinion that the Swedish Government desired merely to drag out the congress with other objects in view. At the end of March, he was therefore instructed to demand the Swedish intentions with regard to the renewal of negotiations; to declare that Russia would not consent to carry them on without the presence of a Prussian plenipotentiary, and that the Tsar would not abate one jot of his former demands; but, that if the Swedes desired at the same time a treaty of alliance, Russia would be willing to enter into one, and would assist the Swedes in any way it desired, or, in consideration of the cession of Livonia, would pay within two years a million of rubles. At the same time the Brigadier Lefort was sent to Stockholm to convey the proper regrets at the death of Charles XII., and to congratulate Queen Ulrica on her accession to the throne. He was instructed to demand the immediate departure of Lilienstedt for Aland, and to threaten that if there were further delay the Tsar would take such measures as the state of affairs demanded. By the middle of April, Osterman had returned to Aland, and there was a new meeting of the congress. Gyllenborg, the only Swedish plenipotentiary present, demanded that new propositions of peace should be presented by Russia, as they could not agree to the former ones, the general opinion in Sweden being that it was better to continue the war than to accept the terms offered. Osterman and Bruce recommended to the Tsar the employment of force, as there seemed to be no probability of coming to an agreement with Sweden, and there were evident signs that Sweden and other powers were attempting to detach Prussia from the Russian alliance, even at the sacrifice of the Swedish possessions in Germany. Lilienstedt arrived at Löfö in the beginning of June. But affairs made no better progress. The Swedes refused to allow the presence of Mardefeld, the Prussian plenipotentiary,

without further instructions, and these instructions did not arrive. They spoke of the advantage which it would be to Sweden to make peace first with the other powers, and hinted at alliances which had been made in Europe against Russia.

With the design, therefore, of showing that he had no intention of being deceived, and of reminding the Swedes that the war was not over, and that no armistice had been signed, the Tsar resolved on sending an expedition to the Swedish coast; and in July, Major-General Lacey, with a fleet of thirty ships, a hundred and thirty galleys, and a hundred small boats, burned the town of Osthammer and Öregrund, a hundred and thirty-five villages, forty mills, sixteen storehouses, and nine iron works. A great quantity of iron, forage, and provisions, which could not be taken away, was thrown into the sea. Admiral Apráxin landed at Vaxholm, close to Stockholm, and devastated the neighbourhood. The booty taken by the Russians was estimated at more than a million of thalers, and the injury done to Sweden at twelve millions. The Cossacks went to within half a mile of Stockholm. Hoping on the impression that this expedition would produce, Osterman was sent to Stockholm under a flag of truce for a decisive reply, and returned with a letter in which the Queen offered the Tsar Narva, Reval, and Esthonia, but demanded the return of Finland and Livonia. Two senators hostile to Russia, Taube and De la Gardie, in very unfriendly and uncomplimentary expressions, blamed to Osterman the conduct of the Tsar in sending his Minister with propositions of peace while his arms were ravaging the country, boasted of the merit of their troops, and said they would never be compelled to peace. The Prince of Cassel and the Queen were also indisposed to peace, and spoke also in severe terms of the inconsistency of coming with propositions of peace, while the Russian troops were burning houses and villages in the neighbourhood of Stockholm. In his conversations with many of the Swedish nobles, Osterman became convinced that there was a strong feeling against peace at the expense of the Baltic provinces, and that even many who before had been inclined to peace were indisposed to it now, because they had been embittered by the ravages of the Russian troops.

On September 1, Peter sent his plenipotentiaries an order

to continue the congress for a week longer, in expectation of the arrival of Ministers from Sweden, or of new instructions to Lilienstedt, but if within that time the Russian propositions were not accepted, to break up the congress and return home. Immediate information of this order was sent to Stockholm, and shortly afterwards Lilienstedt declared to the Russians that he had received instructions from the Queen to refuse peace on the conditions offered. The Swedes offered three weeks for accepting their ultimatum, but the Russians declined it, and thus the Aland congress came to an end.

The reasons for the rupture of negotiations were soon seen when the news came of a treaty between Hanover and Sweden. The other plan now predominated at Stockholm. It was thought that by the assistance of England, separate treaties could be made with the allies, and Russia be isolated. Such, indeed, proved to be the case; but Sweden, nevertheless, got no easier terms. The relations between the Tsar and King George had for some time been delicate, and the growing dislike of the sovereigns was perhaps aggravated by the despatches of their Ministers. Weber reported from St. Petersburg that the ill-will of the Tsar was shown on many occasions, and especially as respected the adherents of the Pretender. Several Jacobites had come to Russia, and had found service there, owing to the friendly interference of Erskine, the Tsar's physician. They found opportunity to talk of the Pretender's cause, and Erskine himself naturally had an influence upon the Tsar in embittering him against King George. Sinclair, who had come with a mission from the Pretender, obtained through Erskine permission to accompany the Tsar on his cruise to Abo, in the autumn of 1718, when he doubtless was able to state his master's case. The result of this was that in one of his letters to Osterman, the Tsar said: 'If the Swedes say anything about the Pretender, and ask aid for him, you may say as your own opinion that we would not refuse to help him, and would be even willing to insert a special article on the subject.' Weber had protested against the favour shown to Jacobites at St. Petersburg, but received a rude rebuff, and was told that he was accredited merely as Resident of the Elector of Hanover, and therefore had no business to talk about Eng-

lish matters. If the King had any complaints to make, let him accredit him properly as representative of England, or send some one else. In fact, Jeffreys, who had at one time been in Stockholm, then came out as English Resident. Bernstorf and his friends, with their old grudge about Mecklenburg, lost no opportunity of indisposing King George against the Tsar, and Veselófsky, the Russian Minister, lost no opportunity of reporting disagreeable incidents. In the summer of 1719 he perceived that the English were drawing nearer to Sweden, sought an interview on the subject with Lord Stanhope, and told him that if England should conclude even a defensive alliance with Sweden, it would be looked upon as a declaration of war against Russia. Stanhope replied with complaints against the reception given to the emissaries of the Pretender, and spoke also of the restrictions upon the English trade with Sweden. It was replied that the restrictions on trade with Sweden had been imposed only after Sweden had forbidden trade with Russia. (It was very evident that the commercial restrictions which England insisted upon when herself at war, did not at all suit her when she was a neutral power.) If Sweden should remove her restrictions on Russian trade, Russia was ready to do the same. Stanhope said that, as England had rendered important services to the Tsar during the war, some attention might be paid to her interests. 'What services has England rendered Russia in the present war?' asked Veselófsky. 'England,' said Stanhope, 'has allowed the Tsar to make great conquests, and establish himself on the Baltic, and besides that has sent her fleet and assisted his undertakings.' 'England,' answered Veselófsky, 'allowed His Majesty to make conquests because she had no means of preventing him, though she had no wish to aid him, and from circumstances was obliged to remain neutral. She sent her fleet to the Baltic for the protection of her own trade, and to defend the King of Denmark in consequence of treaty obligations with him.' In order to appease England, the Tsar, who had never been able to blockade the Swedish coast, withdrew his restrictions as to English and Dutch vessels. Veselófsky tried to work upon the English merchants, for there was a general feeling among the commercial classes that the country was

on the brink of war with Russia. Lord Stanhope told a deputation of the Russian Company that there was no danger in sending their ships, but they still thought it best to consult the Russian Minister, who gave them to understand that there was a great deal of danger, but that it depended entirely upon their own Government, as the Tsar was well disposed. At a special meeting of the Company, the majority decided that the answer of their own Government was sufficiently decisive, and no further representation was made. In July, Admiral Norris and his fleet appeared in the Baltic. In consequence of what he had heard, the Tsar thought it best to inquire for what purpose he had come, and wished to be assured that he had no hostile intentions, for otherwise he could not allow him to approach his coasts. Norris replied from Copenhagen, in a somewhat indefinite letter, that he had already explained himself on the subject to Veselófsky. Just before the breaking up of the Aland Congress, Captain Berkeley arrived at Löfö with letters addressed to the Tsar, from Admiral Norris and Lord Carteret, the English Minister at Stockholm, the substance of which was that the queen of Sweden had accepted the mediation of England in the conclusion of a peace between Russia and Sweden, that she had done this because England had taken no part in the Northern War, and hoped that it would be accepted by the Tsar and that hostilities would cease; that Admiral Norris and the fleet had been ordered not only to protect British trade, but to support the mediation, and that His Majesty, together with the King of France, and his other allies, among whom was Sweden, had taken measures that his mediation should obtain the desired success, and that the war which had so long disturbed the North should be soon ended. Bruce and Osterman, finding the action of the English Minister and Admiral very unusual and insolent, refused to forward the letters, expressing the hope that the King of England, in a matter of such importance, would either write personally to the Tsar, or communicate through his Resident at St. Petersburg. On this, King George withdrew from St. Petersburg both Weber and Jeffreys. It was, indeed, too much to expect that the Tsar would accept the mediation of the King of England, who, as such, was an ally of Sweden, and who, as Elector of Brunswick, had been

one of his own allies in the war, and towards whom he had unfriendly feelings. The method taken by Veselófsky of printing a memorial addressed to the King, which of course called out a reply, was not calculated to bring about more friendly feelings. The preliminaries had been settled in July, and on November 20, 1719, George, as Elector of Hanover, made a formal treaty with Sweden, by which he obtained Bremen and Verden on the payment of a million thalers; as King of Great Britain, about two months afterwards (February 1, 1720), he concluded an alliance with Sweden, by which England bound herself to pay a subsidy of three hundred thousand thalers a year during the rest of the war, assist her in order to prevent the predominance of Russia in the Baltic with a fleet, and help the conclusion of a favourable peace. Henceforth the English-Hanoverian policy as regards Russia devoted itself to isolating the Tsar, by forcing his allies to make separate treaties, and by creating ill-feeling in other countries.

In Vienna there was a fair field. The feelings between the two countries had been excited by the difficulties with regard to the Tsarévitch Alexis, and especially by the demanded recall of Pleyer, in consequence of which the Russian Resident, Abraham Veselófsky, was sent for by the Chancellor, Count Schönborn, and told that, as the Tsar had forbidden Pleyer to appear at court, it was evident that there was no further need of a Resident, and that he would therefore be kind enough to quit Vienna within eight days, and as soon as possible after that leave the country. Veselófsky, frightened by the affair of the Tsarévitch, and thinking himself in some way compromised, subsequently disappeared, and apparently took with him a large sum of money which had been given him for secret service. He never returned to Russia, and for years after Russian agents were in quest of him, with instructions to bring him home 'at any cost,' but during the lifetime of the Tsar nothing was discovered about him. It seems that after concealing himself in Cassel and in England, he subsequently went to Geneva, where he married a lady of good family and died in 1780 at the age of ninety-seven. In return for the dismissal of Veselófsky the Tsar expelled from Russia the Jesuits, who had been

winked at for the last twenty years.[1] When it was believed at St. Petersburg that the Emperor was acting against Russia in Turkey and elsewhere, the Tsar desired to renew relations. First Weisbach, in 1720, was sent to Vienna, and subsequently Yaguzhínsky, neither of whom were successful in their missions, but it was not for some time that an Austrian Minister was sent to St. Petersburg.

Through the management of Bernstorf, assisted by Count Flemming, who had got wind of the possibility of Augustus being thrown over for Stanislas in Poland, a secret alliance was made in January, 1719, between the courts of Vienna, Hanover, and Dresden, directed against both Russia and Prussia, particularly the latter. The cases where interference might be invoked were all plainly set down, and among them was the defence of Curland as a fief of Poland. Rumours of this treaty soon got abroad and caused great alarm in Berlin. A treaty had been made in December, 1717, for the marriage of the widowed Duchess of Curland, the Tsar's niece, to the Prince John Adolphus of Saxe-Weissenfels, a relative of King Augustus, who would be appointed Duke of Curland, but the King neglected to send the ratifications in the time agreed. The Tsar got very angry, broke off the affair, and accepted a proposition from the King of Prussia for a marriage with his cousin, the Margrave Frederick William of Brandenburg-Schwedt, who had already some claims to Curland. King Frederick William, who had hoped ultimately to secure Curland for himself, did not like the new look-out caused by the alliance, and negotiations not having been pressed vigorously of late, he was much delighted when the Margrave, while submitting to his will, said that he preferred one of the King's own daughters. This it was thought would be a good excuse for breaking off the match.[2] One of the first results of the Vienna alliance was

[1] An explanation was made to the Pope that this measure was simply one of retaliation against the Emperor, and was not intended to affect the position of the Catholics in Russia. Subsequently, the Catholic Churches were allowed to receive none except French priests. Communications with the Holy See were at this time made through Admiral Zmaiévitch, of the Russian navy, and his brother, the Archbishop of Zara. See *Theiner*, pp. 468, 517.

[2] A new contract was signed in December, 1723, substituting the Margrave Max Charles, but this also failed.

that the Elector of Hanover, as head of the lower Saxon circle, was instructed by the Emperor to send a body of troops into Mecklenburg, and compel the submission of the Duke, who fled to Berlin, hoping vainly to find assistance. A small fight took place in which the Mecklenburgers were beaten, the Russians having received orders at once to retire from the country. Nothing remained to the Duke then but his fortress of Dömitz. But after the execution was made the Hanoverian troops refused to retire, which gave great anxiety at Berlin, as it appeared evidently the intention of the Elector immediately to annex Mecklenburg to his own dominions. Lord Whitworth was now sent to Berlin as English Minister, with instructions to force the Prussians to a treaty both with Hanover and England, looking ultimately to a peace with Sweden. The English Ministers had begun to get the upper hand of Bernstorf, and they saw the ambitious aims which Hanover had with regard to Prussia, as well as the very interested views which Bernstorf had for himself, not only for his three villages on the Elbe, which he was desirous of subtracting from Prussian rule and annexing to Hanover—which indeed had been put into the treaty of 1715, but had never yet been carried out—but his desires also, as Stanhope wrote, 'to get for himself certain balliages situated about Wismar.' In a previous letter of Lord Stanhope to Sunderland he spoke of 'old Berntorf's project' to break off with Russia. 'I think never any scheme was framed so impracticable, so dishonourable, nor so pernicious as what this old man has in his head.' King Frederick William, who was intrinsically an honest man, was much troubled by the English propositions. He considered himself bound to the Tsar—he had signed a new alliance as late as August, 1718—yet he saw difficulties on every side, and advantages in accepting the English alliance. He tried to convince himself that nothing in this would be harmful to the Tsar's interests, and endeavoured to impress this upon Count Golófkin, for he was frank enough to relate the whole negotiations to the Russians and to tell the English that he should do so. The Tsar in alarm sent Tolstói to Berlin, as the only man capable of dealing with the situation. Tolstói gave the Prussians at once to understand that if Prussia made an alli-

ance with England in which Russia should not be included, he would at once leave Berlin, and it would be considered as a breach of friendly relations. The pressure, however, was too great, and at last, after many hesitations, the King was induced to sign (June, 1719) a treaty with Hanover and also one with England, in which was included the project of a treaty with Sweden. He absolutely refused to sign an article in favour of Poland as against Russia, and insisted on accompanying the treaty with a declaration that he considered himself bound by nothing in it against the interests of the Tsar, and that he signed it only on condition that the English should immediately enter into negotiations for a treaty with Russia, in which he was prepared to act the part of mediator.[1] The arrangement with Sweden was concluded in a separate article to the English preliminaries signed at Stockholm on August 29, 1719, by which Sweden gave up Stettin, the district between the Oder and the Peene, and the islands of Usedom and Wollin on payment of two million thalers. The amount of money Prussia fought against for a long time, not wishing to pay more than a million, including what had previously been advanced. The final treaty was not concluded until February 1, 1720, but practically all the difficulties between Prussia and Sweden were settled by these preliminaries. When the Tsar found that the treaty was

[1] A memorandum of King Frederick William, dated July 23, is interesting, as showing his conflicting emotions. 'Would to God that I had not promised to conclude the treaty. It is an evil spirit which has moved me. Now we shall be ruined, which is what my false friends wish. May God take me from this evil world before I sign it, for here on earth there is nothing but falsehood and deceit. I will explain to Golófkin that I must wear the cloak on both shoulders. To have the Tsar at hand is my interest, and if I give him money I can have as many troops as I wish. The Tsar will make just such a treaty with me. With the English everything is deceit, just as in the most rascally way they deceived me in 1715. I pray God to stand by me if I must play an odd part, but I play it unwillingly, for it is not one for an honest man. I sign the treaty, but I shall not keep it, and shall then, if I throw away the mask, tell the whole world how false friends have treated me.' He ends by ordering this document to be placed in the archives, 'to teach my successors to guard against accepting such friends, and not to follow my wicked, Godless maxims in this treaty, but to stick by friends that one once has, and to turn away from false friends. Therefore I exhort my posterity to keep still a stronger army than I have; on this I shall live and die.' Droysen, *Friedrich Wilhelm I.*, i., 266.

really signed, he thought it best to accept the situation and get what he could from King Frederick William's professions of friendship. He easily induced the King to sign a declaration (June 26, 1720) that, in spite of the peace with Sweden, he would never interfere against Russia, nor touch territories conquered by Russia outside of the German Empire.

What was disagreeable both to Russia and Prussia was the idea strongly brought forward of reviving the Brunswick congress, and submitting all the peace arrangements to the official revision of the Emperor, on the ground that they might concern lands in Germany. The programme of the congress devised by England and the Emperor was indeed remarkable. It being considered detrimental to Sweden to possess territory in Germany, the Swedish provinces in the Empire were to be distributed as follows: Bremen and Verden to Hanover, Stralsund and Rügen to Denmark, Stettin and dependencies to Prussia, Wismar to Poland, in addition to a million and a half thalers to be paid by Hanover, Denmark, and Prussia; Rostock to be a free Imperial city. The Duke of Holstein-Gottorp was to be restored, but Tönning not to be restored and no more fortresses to be built. The nobility of Mecklenburg were to keep their privileges. Curland was to go back to Poland, Sweden was to receive Livonia, Esthonia, and Finland, ceding to the Russians only St. Petersburg, Cronstadt, and Narva. In case the Tsar refused this concession and force had to be used, he was to be deprived of *all* his conquests and also made to cede Smolensk and Kief to Poland. Verily folly could no further go.

In the distracted state of Poland it was comparatively easy for the Russians to keep the upper hand by dissensions, and by threats of new confederations against King Augustus, and thus prevent the Republic from becoming also a party to the Vienna alliance. It was therefore all the easier for King Augustus to be persuaded to sign preliminaries of peace which were to have the effect of a treaty with Sweden (January 7, 1720), on the basis of the peace of Oliva, as neither State had any demands to make, and there was question of nothing more than a mutual recognition. Stanislas was to retain the royal title, and King Augustus agreed to give a million thalers.

Denmark, although during the summer of 1718 it had been comparatively successful in the war against Sweden and in the protection of Norway, yet had no money, and was easily influenced by the great naval power of England. The trouble was to find something which Sweden could yield, which would at the same time satisfy Danish demands. An armistice was made October 30, 1719, and nine months afterwards, July 14, 1720, a regular treaty was signed, by which Sweden renounced the freedom from the Sound tolls which she had enjoyed since 1645, paid six hundred thousand thalers for the restitution of the Danish conquests in Pomerania and Norway, and bound herself no longer to support the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. France and England agreed to guarantee to Denmark the continual possession of the Ducal-Gottorp part of Slesvig, in consequence of which the whole country, with the exception of Glücksburg, came under Danish rule (1721).

The activity of the hostile courts was visible even in places so remote as Constantinople and Madrid. There being rumours that the Austrians and the English were endeavouring to excite the Porte to hostilities against Russia, the Tsar, in 1719, sent thither Alexis Dáshkof. The English Ambassador came near preventing his reception, spied out his every movement, and reported unfavourably about him to the Grand Vizier. In the end he succeeded in maintaining peace, although foreign influence caused the rejection of a project for a closer alliance. Even this modified success he owed to some extent to the French Ambassador, the Marquis de Bonac. In Spain there was a plan devised by Cardinal Alberoni to form a counter-league to that of France, England, and Germany. For this purpose negotiations were carried on at the Hague between Marquis Beretti and Prince Kurákin, and in Paris between Prince Cellamare and Baron Schleinitz, for a close alliance with Russia and Sweden, and an attack on England in the interests of the Pretender—the same plan which Goertz had previously proposed. The death of Charles XII. of course put an end to these projects. With all their care the negotiations had not been carried on so secretly in Paris but what the Abbé Dubois found them out, as he gave Schleinitz very plainly to understand, especially after the arrest of Prince Cellamare. Dubois,

like a sensible politician, agreed to forget all about the past, and impressed upon Schleinitz the advantage of a French mediation with Sweden, and the necessity of making peace as soon as possible. The Tsar, who had some suspicion that Schleinitz, as a German, was not quite agreeable to the French court, sent a special envoy to ascertain the real state of the case, and subsequently transferred to that post from Copenhagen Prince Basil Lukitch Dolgorúky.

Although England was thus successful in isolating Russia, yet Sweden got no real advantage when peace came to be made. In April, 1720, Lord Stanhope met Veselófsky at court, and said to him that, in order that he might have no cause of complaint, he desired to tell him that Admiral Norris had been sent to the Baltic in virtue of the treaty with Sweden, and that it depended on Russia to conclude peace or not, and recognise the English as friends or enemies. He promised a copy of the treaty and of the instructions to Norris, but instead of that sent to him the next day a repetition of what he had already said, offering, somewhat curtly, the mediation of England for the conclusion of peace. On receiving intelligence of this the Tsar refused to receive any letters addressed to him by Admiral Norris or Lord Carteret. Not long after the commandant of Reval received a letter from Admiral Norris to the Tsar, saying that he had come to offer the mediation of his King for the purpose of making peace with Sweden. The letter was sent back, and some correspondence then ensued between Apráxin and Norris, the upshot of which was that Norris was told that if he brought credentials to the Tsar he would certainly be received, but otherwise the further he kept from the guns of the fortress the better. The English and Swedish fleets suddenly left in great haste, for Norris had discovered that the Tsar was not to be easily frightened, and that while he was making a demonstration before Reval, a Russian fleet was devastating the coast of Sweden without opposition. The Russians penetrated thirty miles into the country, burnt two towns, forty-one villages, and over a thousand farmhouses. Peter wrote to Yaguzhínsky: 'Our party, under the command of Brigadier von Mengden, has invaded Sweden, and has safely returned to our shores. It is true that although no very great loss was inflicted on the enemy,

yet, thank God, it was done under the eyes of their allies, who were not able to hinder it.' At the same time Golítsyn defeated a Swedish fleet and captured four frigates. People in England laughed loudly at the fleet which was sent to defend Sweden and could not protect the shores from the Russians, and the English Government said nothing more about mediation. This was then left to France. With the continuance, however, of the bad policy which had marked his predecessor, Bestúzhef-Riúmin, who had been sent to London, published a memorial addressed to the King, the object of which was to show that the King was entirely influenced by German interests, and opposed to English ones, and violently accused Bernstorf and his Hanoverian colleagues. Bestúzhef was ordered to leave England within a week. Faithful to his policy of showing that his quarrel was with the King and not with England, the Tsar, instead of retaliating, declared to the English merchants in Russia that they could still remain and trade without danger, as if nothing had occurred.

Meanwhile, in May, 1720, the Swedish General von Wirtenberg arrived at St. Petersburg to announce the election and accession of King Frederick, the husband of Queen Ulrica, and to say that Sweden would be ready to consider proposals of peace. Alexander Rumiántsof was sent with a reply to Stockholm in August, and, in consequence perhaps of the recent attack on the coast, was received with great amiability. It was speedily arranged, through the intervention of the French Minister, M. de Campredon, that negotiations should be opened, not at Åbo, as had been proposed, for there were all the Russian magazines, but at Nystad, further to the north. The Russian plenipotentiaries were Bruce and Osterman, the former of whom had been made a Count, and the latter a Baron; the Swedish were Count Lilienstedt and Baron Strömfeld. The conferences at Nystad began on May 9, 1721. At first there were difficulties, because the Swedes seemed to think that they ought to have easier terms than had been offered to them at the Åland congress. They were astonished that the permanent cession of Livonia was now demanded, when the Russians had previously been willing to consent to a temporary occupation for forty years. 'That proposition was made to prevent the

conclusion of a treaty between Sweden and England,' answered Bruce. Negotiations lingered; an English fleet again appeared in the Baltic, and again did not succeed in preventing General Lacy from landing five thousand troops on the Swedish coast, and burning Sundsval, two other towns, nineteen parishes, seventy-nine estates, and five hundred and six villages with more than five thousand houses.[1] The Swedish plenipotentiaries immediately became more amenable, although they still held out for Viborg as well as for Pernau and the island of Oesel. They yielded Livonia only on condition that the Tsar should not intervene in the affair of the Duke of Holstein. This he agreed to do, but he did not consider that this would prevent a marriage with his daughter.

It was on September 14, when Peter had already left St. Petersburg for Viborg, that he met a courier from Nystad, bringing him the agreeable news that a treaty had at last been signed on September 10. The main articles were those for which the Tsar had so long contended. Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and part of Karelia, with the district of Viborg, were ceded 'in perpetuity to Russia.' This expression was inserted in order to prevent any claims to Livonia on the part of Poland. Finland, except the district of Viborg, was to be restored to Sweden, and according to all accounts it was in a very sad state, the inhabitants having been ruined by the exactions of the soldiery. Russia was to pay to Sweden two million thalers in instalments to extend over four years. Sweden was to have the right to purchase grain free of export duty at Riga, Reval, and Arensburg, to the amount of fifty thousand rubles yearly, except in those special cases where the export of grain was entirely forbidden. The inhabitants of the conquered provinces were to have all the rights they enjoyed under Swedish rule, and the free exercise of their religion. Proprietors of estates were to

[1] Prince Kurákin wrote from the Hague in April of a letter from King George to the King of Sweden, saying that the English fleet, according to agreement, was ready to enter the Baltic, but begging the King of Sweden to take into consideration the position of affairs in Europe and try to conclude in some way a peace with Russia. England could no longer spend so much money in sending out squadrons; that the present fleet cost over 600,000*l.*, and on account of its condition, all that Admiral Norris could do would be to cover Sweden from hostile attacks, for he could not take the offensive.

regain them on proving their ownership. All prisoners of war were to be released without ransom, except those who wished of their own accord to remain.[1] The Tsar promised not to intefere in any way in the internal affairs of Sweden, whether as to the form of government or as to the succession. The King and the Republic of Poland as allies of the Tsar were included in the treaty, and Sweden promised immediately to send plenipotentiaries to make a separate treaty with them on the basis of the present, through the mediation of the Tsar. On the side of the Swedes, the King of Great Britain was included in the treaty, with the provision that all personal disputes between him and the Tsar were to be treated in a friendly way, and if possible arranged.

Peter wrote his warmest thanks to both Bruce and Osterman, and, in sending the news of the treaty to Prince Basil Dolgorúky at Paris, said: 'All scholars in arts usually finish their course in seven years. Our school has lasted thrice that time. However, thank God, it is so well finished that better would be impossible.'

On September 15 there was great excitement at St. Petersburg. The Tsar unexpectedly returned from his journey, firing frequent salutes from the three guns on his yacht, beating drums and sounding trumpets. A crowd collected at the Trinity wharf, including all the highest officials, for the meaning was evident. The Tsar was bringing the news of peace. From his yacht Peter went at once to pray in the Trinity church. His friends knew what present would be most acceptable to him, and all begged him to accept the rank of Admiral of the Red Flag. Meanwhile tubs of wine and beer had been

[1] Very many Swedes who had married Russians, or who had otherwise succeeded in establishing themselves during their long imprisonment, preferred to remain in Russia. General Lewenhaupt had died at Moscow in 1719. Count Piper was very harshly treated; he was made to give a draft of fifty thousand rubles as indemnity for four Dutch merchant vessels mistaken for Swedish at Helsingfors in 1712 and burned. The Swedish Government forbade the payment of the draft. Count Piper was then arrested and imprisoned in Schlüsselburg, where he died. Admiral Ehrenskjöld was treated with great consideration, and on his release was given the Tsar's portrait set in diamonds. Prince Trubetskóy brought back from Sweden a natural son, who, under the name of Betsky, played an important part at the court of Catherine II.

brought out and a platform erected. The Tsar mounted on this and said to the crowd: 'Rejoice and thank God, oh orthodox people, that the Almighty God has put an end to this long war, lasting twenty-one years, and has given us a happy and eternal peace with Sweden.' Saying this, Peter took a cup of wine and drank to the health of the nation, amid loud cheers, the firing of the guns of the fortress and of the regiments drawn up on the square. Twelve dragoons with white scarves over their shoulders, with banners and laurel wreaths, and accompanied by two trumpeters, were sent through the city with the news of peace. On the 21st there began a great masquerade of a thousand masks which continued a whole week. Peter was as merry as a child, danced about the tables and sang songs. On October 31st Peter declared in the Senate that, as a mark of thankfulness for divine mercy, he intended to pardon all condemned criminals, to free all those indebted to the Government, and to forgive the arrears of taxes which had accumulated from the beginning of the war to 1718. That same day the Senate resolved to offer to the Tsar the titles of Emperor, Father of his Country, and Great. These Peter at first refused, but at last promised to accept. The same day the French envoy, M. de Campredon, who had arrived at Cronstadt the evening before on board a Swedish frigate, was dining with the commandant of the fortress when the arrival was announced of the Tsar, who had come to meet him in spite of all laws of etiquette. Peter went directly to the frigate. Campredon returned at once and found him on deck. The Tsar embraced him, then paid him many compliments on his diplomatic success, and showed a lively gratitude for the good offices of France. He then took Campredon to his boat and reviewed his nineteen vessels of the line, pointing out the merits of each, whether of build or of ornament. On returning to St. Petersburg the Tsar received the envoy in solemn audience, but in his chancery and not in his palace. He invited the envoy to accompany him at once to a festival to celebrate the peace, and hastily left the chancery. Campredon with astonishment saw him stop in the middle of the street before a sort of café, where he had made an appointment with the chief dignitaries of the court and the Empire, place himself at their head, and go in

great pomp to the cathedral. He put the envoy in the place of honour, roughly pushed on one side the chamberlains who prevented him from seeing, and was anxious that he should follow each phase of the ceremony. He himself directed the liturgy, sang with the priests, and beat time. After the mass and a sermon of Theophán Prokópovitch, who recounted all the remarkable actions of the Tsar, the Chancellor, Count Golófkin, delivered a short address in the name of the Senate and the Holy Synod, begging the Tsar to accept the title of Peter the Great, Father of his Country, Emperor of all the Russias. The Senators thrice cried *Vivat!* and the shout was taken up by all the people inside and outside the church, the bells rang, the trumpets sounded, the drums beat, and there was a general salute. Peter replied: 'I greatly wish all our nation directly to recognise the hand of God in our favour during the last war, and in the conclusion of this peace. It becomes us to thank God with all our might, but while hoping for peace we must not grow weaker in military matters, so as not to have the fate of the Greek Monarchy. We must make efforts for the general good and profit, which may God grant us at home and abroad, from which the nation will receive advantage.' On leaving the church the procession formed again and went to the palace of the Senate, where, in one of the large halls, tables were arranged for a thousand guests, and where he was congratulated by the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, and by the foreign ministers. After the banquet there was a ball. During the whole evening Peter was as constant in his polite attentions to the French envoy as his duties permitted him, for he managed the details of the festivity, had himself designed the fireworks, and appeared as much interested in their success as in gaining a battle. At a given signal the flotilla on the river became illuminated, the artillery fired a salute, and the temple of Janus was seen with a fiery statue on each side, one mounted on an eagle representing Russia, and the other on a lion meant for Sweden. They closed the doors of the temple and clasped hands as a sign of reconciliation. After two thousand rubles' worth of powder had been burned in this way the guests 'drank much,' says Campredon. Healths quickly succeeded one another; an enormous basin of wine, 'a true cup of grief,' circulated among the guests,

carried on the shoulders of two soldiers. There were fountains of wine at the street corners and the whole town was jolly. On a platform before the Senate was an ox roasted whole, which the Tsar carved with his own hands and distributed to the crowd. He even ate a bit himself, and drank to the health of the people.

From that day the title of Tsar was disused and the Sovereign of Russia became officially known as Emperor. Prussia and Holland immediately recognised the imperial title. Other countries, though some of them had previously translated Tsar by Emperor, made delays and difficulties, chiefly to please the German Emperor. The new title was formally recognised by Sweden in 1723, by Turkey in 1739, by England and the German Emperor in 1742, by France and Spain in 1745, and by Poland not until 1764.[1]

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[1] Soloviéf, xvii.; Golikóf, vii., viii., ix.; *Journal of Peter the Great;* Droysen, *Friedrich Wilhelm I.; Russian Laws;* Du Mont, *Corps Diplomatique;* Martens, *Russian Treaties;* Bassewitz, *Eclaircissements;* A. Vandal, *Louis XV. et Elisabeth de Russie;* Lord Stanhope, *History of England.*

LXXVI.

THE TSAR'S LIFE AT ST. PETERSBURG.—1717-1724.

At the time of the festivities for the peace of Nystad St. Petersburg could not show the lines of palaces which now rise so superbly from the banks of the Neva, not as yet kept in by the granite quays of Catherine II., nor did it even present the fine appearance it did a few years later under the Empress Anne, when many new buildings had been constructed, and even to Western eyes it seemed a marvel. Nevertheless the aspect was very different from that of seven years before, when Weber found it only a cluster of adjoining villages like the settlements of the American colonies. St. Petersburg now contained about a hundred thousand inhabitants,[1] and presented far more attractions to a stranger. The nucleus of the town was still to the east of the fortress near the Trinity church, the official church for all ceremonies, and here were the Government offices, the bazaar, and the houses of Gagárin, Golófkin, Shafírof, Zotof, Buturlín, and other nobles, but the city had begun to spread

[1] The number of houses in St. Petersburg given on page 9, was taken somewhat rashly from Weber's *Neu-Verändertes Russland*, and must be greatly exaggerated. But numbers are always difficult things where statistics are not attainable. According to the *Geographical-Statistical Dictionary of the Russian Empire*, the number of houses in St. Petersburg in December, 1713, when the first census was taken, was 1,015, for the most part mere log huts, besides six churches. In 1740 the number of buildings is stated as 1,740; in 1805 as 7,280. In 1869 the population was 667,026; the number of houses 9,109, containing 92,417 separate apartments. The population is given in 1882 at 876,575. Taking in general all Russian northern towns which would most nearly correspond to what St. Petersburg was about 1720, the average number of inhabitants per house is never less than ten. In the early days of St. Petersburg, owing to the way in which soldiers and especially workmen were crowded together, this average must have been greatly exceeded. After Peter's death the population decreased fast, and did not come up again until the reign of Elizabeth.

on the mainland in the neighbourhood of the Admiralty and up the river eastward. It was, however, still contained within the canal of the Mya or Móïka. The Admiralty was surrounded by a deep moat, and was really a place for the construction of vessels. Further down was what is now called the English quay and the port for galleys. The immediate vicinity of the Admiralty was occupied by the foreign and especially the German colony of officers and men employed in the army and navy, as is still shown by the names of the Little Morskáya and the Great Morskáya, or Naval Street. The Pushkarskáya, or Artillery Street, has now disappeared. The Nevsky Prospect existed, but only as a high-road to the Alexander Nevsky monastery, receiving its name from being cut in a straight line through the woods; although nearer to the Móïka, where there were meadows, it was edged by a double line of trees. On the site of the Winter Palace were a number of houses, some of which might be called palaces, especially that of Admiral Apráxin. His house, which was on the corner, built somewhat in the Italian style with galleries and balconies, would reach now scarcely to the middle of the second story of the Winter Palace, partly because the level of the quay has since been raised. Next to this came the houses of Savva Raguzhínsky, General Yaguzhínsky, Tchernyshéf, and Admiral Cruys, also a large house, and finally the Winter Palace of the Tsar, only two stories in height, occupying the corner of what is now the Hermitage. The quay was laid up with timber, and piles were driven under the foundations of the houses, so that they were able to come pretty close to the water's edge. On the site of the present Marble Palace was a large post-house built for the accommodation of strangers, and the services of Heinrich Gottleib Crauss, of Danzig, had been secured as landlord. It contained a large hall, where the Tsar frequently gave balls, dinners, and other entertainments, his own palace being too small for such purposes. Between this and the house just mentioned was the large house of Alexander Kikin, which had been confiscated in 1718, and was now used for storing and exhibiting the library and the collections of rarities and curiosities purchased at various times by the Tsar. In this neighbourhood, too, was the small palace of the Tsar's sister Natalia, who during her life-

time had used a portion of it as a house for orphans and poor women; after her death the whole of it was devoted to that purpose, especial care being given to foundlings. Opposite the post-office, on the Millionaya, or, as it was then called, the German Street, was the house built for the elephant sent by the Shah of Persia, and at that time used for the great Holstein globe. Beyond the post-house was a long stretch of meadow and plain, where the troops sometimes paraded, and beyond that the Summer Garden, where the Tsar had built for himself a small house still in existence, called the Summer Palace. At the upper end, separated by a small canal, was the park and summer palace of Catherine, and further on the Italian Garden. In these gardens society frequently united in the afternoons and long evenings of summer, for entertainments of various kinds. The gardens possessed many old trees, and were planted with flower-beds, for since the Tsar's stay in Holland he had developed a fondness for gardening, and was especially fond of carnations. Across the river, on the Vasily-Ostrof, preparations had been made by canals and straight streets for constructing a town in the Dutch style. As yet the only house of importance was that of Prince Menshikóf, by far the largest in St. Petersburg, and really a splendidly furnished palace, with large wings for his chancery and the persons in his employ, and behind a garden extending to the other side of the island. Here Menshikóf received for the Tsar, who liked not too much festivity in his own small house. Peter could always see his lighted windows of an evening, and when he did not himself visit him comforted himself with the reflection, 'Danílitch is making merry.' This house still exists as the Cadets' School. Beyond this were the dwellings of artisans, and at the upper end of the island was the palace of the Tsaritsa Prascóvia (after her death turned into the Academy of Sciences), and the houses of several nobles. The long line of buildings for the colleges had been begun, but was not yet finished. It is now the University.

There were no bridges over the river, and even over the canals they were few and far between. Unless one wished to make a long way roundabout it was necessary to use a boat; and what was especially inconvenient and unpleasant was, that in order to accustom his subjects to the handling of boats, the

Tsar had forbidden the use of oars. It was always necessary to sail. Accidents were, of course, frequent, and in bad weather people were sometimes detained for days in houses where they had gone as guests, a circumstance which happened several times even to foreign ministers. The Polish Minister, Von Königseck, one of the Tsar's physicians, and several others were drowned through the carelessness of the boatmen. In consequence, the foreign ministers were allowed to have four oarsmen each.

A few streets were badly paved, and that at great expense, for the stones had to be brought from long distances. Every boat, therefore, that came down the Neva, was obliged to carry a certain quantity. No measures were taken to light the streets until 1723, and then only with a few lanterns hung at long intervals in front of the houses. Until 1721 there had been no great inundation since 1706; that of 1717 did little damage. But fires were alarmingly common. Thanks to a well-organised fire brigade, in which all were obliged to serve, and to the frequent presence of Menshikóf and of the Tsar himself with axe and pick in hand, and perhaps to the solid logs used in the buildings, the fire was usually put out before more than three or four houses were burned. In these unlighted and badly-paved streets wolves still from time to time ravaged, and robberies and murders were far too common. The badly-housed, starved, desperate, and despairing peasants, who had been torn from their homes to build the new capital, forgot the horrible punishments meted out by Prince Ramodanófsky so long as for a moment they could forget their present hunger and misery.[1] It was dangerous to go out alone at night in the streets

[1] Weber writes, June 26, 1714: 'Deeds of violence are beginning here again, because the Tsar is absent and there are few soldiers here. The godless rabble breaks into houses both by day and night, and perpetrates all sorts of insolent deeds. Several sad cases have taken place this week. People scarcely consider themselves safe in their houses, and at night have to use all imaginable precautions. Between here and Moscow another band of brigands has been formed, who are all well armed and make the roads quite unsafe. It is reckoned that the Vice-Tsar, Ramodanófsky, who is the supreme judge in criminal matters, has executed over 6,000 similar brigands during his reign. When he was lately here and was asked about this, he said he must have three hundred prisoners still hanged. Prince Menshikóf, two years ago, was attacked

of St. Petersburg, or even by day on the country roads. Even the Tsar himself came near being captured by brigands while going to Moscow at the end of 1717. This state of things rendered necessary the establishment of night patrols and the complete reorganisation of the police, which was put under the charge of General Antony Devier, a Portuguese, who had originally come to St. Petersburg as a cabin boy, had been employed and promoted by the Tsar, and made one of his adjutants. Devier was a kind-hearted man of no great capacity, but had the one merit of implicitly following out his instructions. Sometimes the Tsar found it necessary to admonish him very sharply, but they nevertheless remained very good friends. It is said that on one occasion, as they were driving together in a chaise along the bank of the Móïka, a bridge which they were about to cross was out of repair, two or three planks having been displaced. Peter jumped out, gave Devier a good beating with his cane, made him mend the bridge on the spot, and then in a pleasant tone said, 'Get in, brother,' and they drove on. Devier paid court to the sister of Menshikóf, but the prince, having higher views, refused his consent to the marriage. Finding that the lady responded to his love only too warmly, Devier again asked her hand, and told Menshikóf that it would be better to allow the wedding to take place in order that the child might be legitimate, upon which he was kicked downstairs. He complained to the Tsar, who succeeded in arranging the marriage. Although it was necessary for them to hold intimate official relations, Menshikóf was never cordial to his brother-in-law, and after the Tsar's death seized an excellent opportunity which offered itself to have him exiled to Siberia.

The hours kept by Peter were very different from those now in fashion. He frequently attended sessions of the Senate or had conferences with his Ministers at three, four, or five o'clock in the morning, then went to the Admiralty to supervise the ship-building, and generally managed to get an hour at the

by a whole village who knew him well, and was only saved by his fleet horses. Thereupon he had all the inhabitants, as well as the priests, hanged. If justice were not administered so strictly in this country the evil would be still worse.' There is more than a tinge of exaggeration in the above account, but the evil was certainly very great.

lathe before his eleven o'clock dinner. Then followed the usual Russian mid-day nap; later he went on tours of inspection round the town, or worked in his private chancery, and the evening he passed in the society of his friends or in the more public assemblies. Such hours are scarcely possible except in St. Petersburg, where at midsummer it is always light, and at midwinter the sun is below the horizon from 3 P.M. to 9 A.M., and frequently owing to fogs it is dark much longer, and early and late become mere relative terms. At least three or four times a week Peter either dined or supped with his most intimate friends, and most frequently with Menshikóf, for in spite of accusations and perhaps a certain withdrawal of confidence, friendly and intimate relations were maintained. Thus, in October, 1719, on the anniversary of the battle of Kalisz, Menshikóf came to the Tsar at five o'clock in the morning to invite him to dine. He remained talking with him for several hours, when both went to the house of General Golovín, then to the liturgy at the Trinity church, and then to dinner, after which there was a sailing party on the Neva, and the Tsar returned to Menshikóf's for supper, and stayed until ten o'clock. Very rarely did any one dine or sup with the Tsar at his palace, unless it were Menshikóf, or some orderly or adjutant. His house was not large, with low, small, simply furnished rooms, built for the convenience of his private life, where he could take his ease without ceremony. He loved a simple life, plain coarse fare, and liked to go about in his old clothes. He dined with the greatest simplicity, generally wore an old surtout, which, as he had the habit of stuffing important papers into his pockets, was usually rolled up and placed under his pillow at night. At the coronation of Catherine he consented, to afford her pleasure, to wear a coat which with her own hands she had richly embroidered with gold and silver, at the same time protesting against the expense, which might have supported several soldiers. The Tsar's Court was very small. His adjutants at this time were Yaguzhínsky, Devier, Rumiántsof, Volýnsky, and Simeon Naryshkin, who were frequently given duty in distant places; and he had, besides Makárof, the secretary of his cabinet, a number of orderlies, who were constantly attached to his person. Bergholz, the aide-de-camp of the Duke of Holstein, then

just arrived at St. Petersburg, says: 'The Court of the Tsar is very mean, for he has almost no one in his service but a few orderlies, some of whom are indeed of good family, but most of low birth. These young men, his greatest favourites, enjoy however, no little influence with him. There are in all three or four to whom he holds much. One is the nephew of General Buturlín; the second, Tchévkin, is so like his twin-brother that they can only be distinguished by their clothes. They say that when the Tsar went to Danzig, he took them with him only on account of their great resemblance to each other. The one who was least able to suit himself to his humour he gave over to the Tsarina. The third favourite and orderly is named Tatístchef, and is of a Russian family. The fourth and last, Basil, was a poor young fellow in the Tsar's choir, and as the Tsar himself is a singer, and every Sunday and feast-day stands in the same row with the common choristers and sings with them in church, he took such a great liking to him that he can scarcely live an instant without him. These two last are his greatest favourites, since generally when the Tsar is alone or in a small company he eats at the same table with them. I am of opinion that the Tsar cares still more for Basil, since he seizes him by the head perhaps a hundred times a day and kisses him, and even lets the highest Ministers stand and wait while he goes and talks to him. This man is of poor common people, and has never had any other education than that of a chorister. Besides, his appearance is quite common and ordinary. In a word, he is, according to all appearance, a simple inoffensive youth, and yet the finest people of the whole realm pay their court to him.'

The Court of Catherine presented a great contrast to that of her husband. She was fond of luxury and display, of dress and of jewels, and Peter humoured her in this. Indeed he liked the nobility also to keep up a fitting state. When Menshikóf, after one of the fines imposed upon him, took down all his tapestries and the brocade and satin hangings of his walls, and removed his splendid furniture under the pretence that he would be obliged to sell it, the Tsar sternly rebuked the meanness and simplicity of his rooms, and told him that unless in twenty-four hours his palace were furnished again as became a Serene Prince and Governor of St. Petersburg, he should double

the fine. In the Empress's household, which was so well managed as to surprise foreigners, there were pages in green uniform faced with red and richly trimmed with gold lace, a great number of well-dressed lackeys and grooms, and an orchestra of many good musicians in fine green uniforms, which they wore rather unwillingly. She had four gentlemen of the chamber, all tall, handsome fellows; two of them were Russians, Shepeléf and Tchévkin, and two Germans, Mons and Balk, one being brother and the other a nephew to the pretty Anna Mons, the mistress of the Tsar in his early life. Notwithstanding the difficulty with which William Mons had got into the army,[1] the Mons family had succeeded in establishing themselves solidly at Catherine's Court. The sister of William and Anna, Matrena (originally Modesta) Balk, who had married a distinguished general, was the lady of honour deepest in the confidence of the Empress, and her two sons also belonged to the household. Very shamefully did they repay the favour shown to them. Catherine was noted for her amiability and kind heart. She disliked none and could not refuse a request. She was therefore the refuge of all who were in trouble or desired favours of the Tsar. Every one applied to her, from Menshikóf down. Mons and his sister took advantage of this, managed to control the access of petitioners, and took money for their services. Their venality was generally known in St. Petersburg to every one but the Tsar, and when he found it out it proved their ruin. Among the ladies of the Court[2] were Anisia Tolstói, who had

[1] See vol. i., pp. 406, 407.

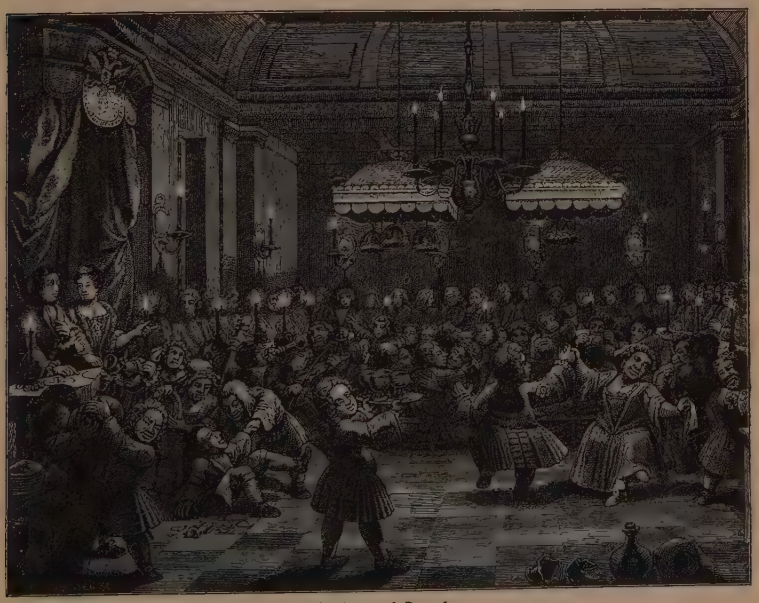
[2] The chief ladies and maids of honour of Catherine's household besides those mentioned were the Princess Cantemir; Maria Stróganof (born Novosíltsef), the mother of the Barons Stróganof; Anna Olsúfief, daughter of Admiral Senyávin; Madame Campenhausen (born von Leschert), wife of a colonel, afterwards a general, and a Swedish baron; Madame Villebois, wife of the French adventurer and admiral, a daughter of Pastor Gluck, with whom Catherine had lived; Countess Osterman, wife of the Vice-Chancellor, and daughter of Ivan Stréshnef; Countess Anna Golófkin, daughter of the Chancellor, who subsequently married General Yaguzhínsky after he had divorced his first wife; Countess Tchernyshéf (born Rzhévsky), wife of the Tsar's orderly, subsequently general, senator, and count; Barbara Arsénief, sister of the Princess Menshikóf; Eudoxia Kóshelef, whose father married as his second wife a daughter of Pastor Gluck, and who herself subsequently married Basil Rimsky-Korsákof; a daugher of Devier, the police master; and Anna Kramer, the

been Catherine's companion since her first acquaintance with Peter, and the old Princess Anastasia Golítsyn, daughter and heiress of Prince Prozorófsky. The charming Miss Hamilton, who had been too fond of the orderly Orlof, had already been executed for infanticide. The Princess Golítsyn was celebrated for jests and jokes. She was the inseparable friend of Catherine, and had accompanied her to Denmark and Holland, where she had enlivened every one. On her return she had been implicated in the affair of the Tsarévitch Alexis, had been publicly whipped by the soldiers, but shortly afterwards had regained her position at Court by being funnier than before. As 'Princess-Abbess' she took part in Peter's coarse amusements. Her husband in despair ended his days in a monastery. One of her letters written to the Tsar from Reval in July, 1714, gives the tone of the Court: 'I desire your presence here quickly. If your Majesty delays, really, Sire, my life will be hard. The Tsaritsa is never willing to go to sleep before three o'clock in the morning, and I have to sit constantly by her while Kirílovna dozes as she stands by the bed. The lady Tsaritsa deigns to say: "Aunt, are you dozing?" and she replies: "No, I am not dozing; I am looking at my slippers," while Maria (Hamilton) walks about the room with a mattress which she spreads in the middle of the floor, and Matrena (Madame Balk) walks through the rooms and scolds everybody, and Christiánovna stands behind a chair and looks at the Tsaritsa. With your presence I shall get freedom from bedroom service.'

While the Princess Golítsyn was the jester in ordinary to Catherine, Peter had two regularly entitled fools. One, Balakýref, was a Russian, the other, La Costa, was from Portugal. The latter was commonly given the title of Count until on the arrival in 1719 of the Samoyedes, who came down in winter with their reindeer and camped on the ice of the Neva; he was appointed King of the Samoyedes, and twenty-four of them swore allegiance to him. In accordance with the customs of

daughter of a merchant of Narva. This last, as a prisoner of war, had been taken first to Vologda, then to Kazan and sold to Apráxin, had been sent as a present to General Balk, and by him to Miss Hamilton, the unfortunate maid of honour. She was chosen to prepare for burial the body of the Tsarévitch Alexis, and was subsequently Mistress of the Court to his daughter Natalia.

the time, there was no lack of dwarfs at Court. Even no private noble house was considered well furnished without them.[1] They were produced on all occasions, put into pies at great banquets, and their conduct always furnished food for spiritual entertainment. At the funeral of one who had been long attached to Peter, twenty-four male and twenty-four female dwarfs walked in procession, followed by the Emperor in person, and



Marriage of Dwarfs.

his Ministers and guards. In 1710, immediately after the marriage of the Princess Anne to the Duke of Curland, a marriage

[1] In 1716 Menshikóf wrote: 'Since one of my daughters possesses a dwarf girl and the other does not, therefore I beg you kindly to ask Her Majesty the Tsaritsa to allow me to take one of the dwarfs which were left after the death of the Tsaritsa Martha.' In 1708 he had written to his wife: 'I send you a present of two girls, one of whom is very small and can serve as a parrot. She is more talkative than is usual among such little people, and can make you much gayer than if she were a real parrot.' The birth of a dwarf might even be considered a piece of good luck. We find in the archives of the Senate a decree granting freedom from serfage to the father and family of the dwarf Ustinia Nikítin.

of two dwarfs was celebrated with exactly the same rites and exactly the same pomp as the marriage of the Duke. On this occasion seventy-two dwarfs supped at a separate table in the hall of Menshikóf's palace, and were made as drunk as the rest of the company. Their antics furnished great sport. They were given the Tsar's cabinet for a nuptial chamber. Cannon were ready, but salutes were not fired, because Menshikóf's youngest son was ill, and died indeed the same day.

Even giants were sometimes kept, though most of them had been sent as a present to King Frederick William of Prussia; but we remember how Peter found at Calais the giant Nicholas Bourgeois, whom he managed to send to St. Petersburg in spite of the Prussian recruiting agents, and who stood behind his table for many years afterwards. In 1720 Nicholas was married to a Finnish giantess, with great ceremonies ending in a masquerade. Negroes were also in esteem, as indeed they have been of recent years. Volýnsky sent from Astrakhan a couple to Catherine in order to ingratiate himself with her; and Peter had several, one of whom, Abram or Ibrahim Hannibal, was sent to study at Paris, and subsequently became a general, and was the ancestor of the poet Pushkin.

Peter and Catherine had but three children living, all daughters. The little Tsarévitch Peter, on whom such great hopes had been placed, had died in the spring of 1719, only ten months after the sad fate of his brother Alexis. He had always been weak and sickly, and even when four years old could neither speak nor walk. The loss of this child was a great blow to Peter, and he felt it long, yet he did not give way to his grief, but, though with a sad heart, transacted the usual official business, and even dined with his Ministers, and went to the launch of a ship—and we well know with what rites this ceremony was performed. Natalia was an infant of three years old, but the Princesses Anne and Elizabeth were now tall, pretty girls, thirteen and twelve years old. Bergholz says that Anne, whom he saw for the first time on the coronation day, 1721, was 'a brunette, and as pretty as an angel, with charming complexion, arms and figure, very much like her father, and rather tall for a girl; even a little inclined to be thin, and not as lively as her younger sister, like whom she was dressed. Her wings,

which had not long before been clipped, had not yet been taken off, but only tied down. The dresses of the princesses were without gold or silver, of pretty two-coloured material; their heads were ornamented with pearls and precious stones in the latest French fashion, in a way which would have done honour to the best Paris hairdresser.' The wings spoken of were made of gauze of two or three colours stretched on whalebone, and were commonly worn by children at this time. Those of Anne had been cut off by the Tsar in a sudden freak at a banquet given the February before, on the festival of Simeon and Anna, when he made a little speech, declared that she had arrived at her majority, kissed her and drank her health to a salute of cannon. Both girls were being educated as well as the fashion of the time demanded. They were taught French, German, dancing, and graceful manners, which constituted the sum of a polite education for a girl. Anne is said also to have learnt something of Italian and Swedish. In order to show her proficiency in her studies, she wrote several letters in German to her father and mother, congratulating them and hoping to see them back soon. Catherine replied from Riga in May, 1721: 'My heart, Tsaróvna Anna Petróvna, I hope you and your dear sister and nephew and niece are well. I inform you that your dear father, as well as I, on arriving here, thank God, are in good health, and I congratulate you on the festival of Palm Sunday, and wish with all my heart that I could be to-morrow at Vespers and pass Easter Sunday with you. This moment I have received by post your letter, for which I thank you; and one can see that you, my dear, have taken great pains in writing it. Therefore write very well in future, so that your dear father may praise you for your letters.' Subsequently on May 16: 'As I know from the letters of your master, as well as Mr. Devier, that you, my heart, are learning with diligence, I am very glad, and send you as a present, to incite you to do better and to diligence, a diamond ring. Choose one of them for yourself, whichever pleases you, and give the other to your dear sister Elizabeth, and kiss her for me. I send you also a box of fresh oranges and lemons, which have just come on the ships. Pick out some dozens and send them as from yourself to the Serene Prince and to the Admiral.' Young as the princesses were it

was already thought of marrying them, and the youthful Duke of Holstein-Gottorp had just arrived in St. Petersburg to pay his court to Anne. For Elizabeth a French alliance was sought. Little Peter and Natalia, the two children of the Tsarévitch Alexis, were frequently mentioned with affection in Peter's and Catherine's letters, but they were relegated to the care of obscure people and much neglected.

The Imperial family had by this time become very small. One of the step-sisters of the Tsar was still alive, the Tsarévna Maria, but in consequence of her condemnation on account of the affair of Alexis, she was living in confinement in her own house at St. Petersburg, having recently been allowed to go there from Schlüsselburg. His own sister Natalia had died in 1716, greatly regretted by the society of St. Petersburg, and especially by the foreigners, for she did much to amuse them with balls and especially with theatrical performances, having even herself arranged some plays. The Tsaritsa Martha, the widow of Theodore and sister of Admiral Apráxin, had been buried in the same year. There was still the Tsaritsa Prascovia, the widow of the Tsar Ivan, with her three daughters—Catherine, the Duchess of Mecklenburg; Anne, the Duchess of Curland; and Prascovia. This last was delicate and always ailing, and her presence made little difference in festivities. The Duchess of Curland made occasional visits to St. Petersburg and Moscow, while the ever gay and lively Duchess of Mecklenburg returned to Russia in 1722 to spend the remainder of her life. All these had been badly educated by Osterman's elder brother, and had learned their French from an illiterate dancing-master, who had to wait very many years for his pay. The Tsaritsa Prascovia was a remarkable personage, a fair specimen of the old Russian type, of a strong and masculine character, and indeed somewhat of a termagant. She often quarrelled with her daughters, and finally bestowed her formal curse on the Duchess of Curland, which she withdrew only when on her deathbed. She had, however, a great love and sincere admiration for her brother-in-law. Everything which he did or ordered was good, and in spite of her leanings to old-time habits and practices she readily adapted herself to every desire or suggestion of the Tsar, not from calculation, but

from a real desire to please him. Although she delighted at home in the society of nuns, pilgrims, and religious vagabonds, she was one of the first to appear in public and to open her house to foreigners. She left her pleasant villa of Ismáïlofsky to endure the discomfort of St. Petersburg. Old and gouty as she was, she was carried in her chair to all the balls and banquets, where, placed by the side of Catherine, she looked on while the rest amused themselves. She appeared in the street processions of masquers. She even believed enough in Peter's knowledge of medicine to pass uncomfortable weeks at the 'martial waters' of Olonetz, which did her more harm than good. In the matter of her daughters' marriage she had no wish or will; their hands were the Tsar's to dispose of as he thought fit. But this devotion and submission gave Prascovia in turn great influence with Peter, and enabled her to serve herself and others; but she had the tact not to press this too far. Prascovia's irascibility may be judged from one little incident. One of the stewards connected with the management of her large estates, Derevínin, had quarrelled with his superior, had been dismissed, and had been long trying to settle his accounts. By accident he found a letter in cipher in the well-known hand of the Tsaritsa. He wished to be revenged, he remembered the law, and he resolved to give the letter to the Tsar as perhaps being treasonable. It was not so in reality, but it was very dangerous at that time to write anything in cipher, even about one's most intimate and secret business. Prascovia spared no efforts to get both the man and the letter into her power, and finally, ill with gout and dropsy as she was, drove in from her country place of Ismáïlofsky, and under the pretence of distributing alms obtained entrance into the prisons of the Secret Police, had herself carried to the cell of Derevínin, and with threats and objurgations beat him unmercifully about the head with her cane, until, her passion rising each instant, she ordered her servants to burn his beard and face with a candle, and finally sent for a bottle of *vodka*, had it poured over his head, and set fire to it. Even the jailers were horrified at this sight, the more so as they would be responsible for the safety of the prisoner; but it was not until General Yaguzhínsky arrived and mildly represented to the Tsaritsa the impro-

priety of her conduct, that she consented to go home without taking the prisoner with her for further punishment.

Prascovia was evidently a relic of the old times, and showed her ancestral blood, but otherwise it is noticeable that the courtiers and the friends and intimate associates of the Tsar were for the most part new men, *parvenus*, people who had made their own way in the world, or foreigners. The Dolgorúkys, the Golítsyns, and the Trubetskóys, were almost the only descendants of Rurik and Gedimin who were much seen at Peter's Court. There were others, of course, who held high positions, such as Ramodanófsky, Repnín, Kurákin, and Sheremétief; but Ramodanófsky's duties kept him at Moscow, Kurákin was abroad, while Repnín and Sheremétief were generally in some province distant from the capital. Others connected with the Imperial family, like the Soltykófs, naturally clung to the relatives; but the Stréshnefs, the Golófkins, and the Naryshkins owed their family importance only to their relationship, and the Apráxins do not seem at that time to have been much esteemed. The feeling of family pride had, however, by no means died out, and it kept some away and made others unwelcome. Indeed, in considering Peter's Court it is impossible at times not to think of that of an usurper or of a new dynasty still unpopular in the country.

In order to bring the sexes together and to introduce the beginning of a common social life, the Tsar introduced in 1719 what were called assemblies, which were held in turn two or three times a week by persons specified on a list prepared by the Tsar.[1] They were subject to certain rules to keep down the expense and prevent them from becoming too much of a burden. The host was not expected to meet his guests or to prepare any further entertainment for them than tea or cold water to satisfy

[1] This list is interesting as showing the leaders of society, and who had houses large enough for entertainments. The Prince Pope (Zotof), Stréshnef, Admiral Apráxin, Vice-Admiral Peter Mikháilof (the Tsar), Admiral Cruys, Prince Menshikóf, Admiral Padan, Prince Jacob Dolgorúky, Prince Dimítri Golítsyn, Golovín, Tolstói, Golófkin, Shafírof, Prince A. Tcherkásky, Prince Stcherbátof, Weyde, Prince Peter Golítsyn, A. Soltykóf, Tchernyshéf, Yaguzhínsky, Devier, Klokatchef, Neledinsky, Ivan Stréshnef, A. Apráxin, Makárof.

thirst. All that he had to do was to give lighted and heated rooms, one for dancing, one for cards and chess (of which the Russians are very fond), one for smoking, and one for general conversation or where the ladies could play forfeits. The guests could bring their own wine and beer if they wished; no one was to be forced to drink, except in the rare cases where the rules of the assemblies were infringed; the 'great eagle,' the beaker which had to be drained as a fine at other banquets, here had no place. Ante-rooms were not yet in fashion, for it is especially stated that servants and lackeys are not to be admitted to the rooms, but given a place for themselves. The assemblies began at four or five o'clock in the afternoon, and lasted not later than eleven, but the guests were allowed to come and go at any time within those hours. In general there was no ceremony. Every one could do as he pleased. No special invitations were issued, but all from the highest ranks down to commissioned officers, and nobles as well as merchants of the better class, and even the directors of the ship construction at the Admiralty, were admitted and expected to appear. Peter, while generally refusing all other form of entertainment at the palace, held assemblies in his turn. Naturally these reunions varied in interest and amusement with the houses in which they were held, because nothing prevented the host from furnishing a huge supper and plenty to drink, and this was often done.

But besides the assemblies, there were many other occasions when the society of St. Petersburg met, such as christenings, funerals, and weddings, and the Tsar and all the members of the Imperial family were at all times willing to appear as witnesses to a marriage, or to hold over the font children even of soldiers and artisans. The launching of a ship was an occasion for a great feast. Peter was always present with most of his family, even including the Tsaritsa Prascovia, who seldom missed such an occasion, and took her little drop of liquor with the rest.

Bergholz can tell us what these feasts were like: 'The 17th July we dined with the former Hospodar of Moldavia, Prince Cantemir. There we found the Princess Trubetskóy, sister of the Princess Tcherkásky, whom she by no means approaches in

beauty, especially as she paints herself entirely too much, although all ladies here use *rouge* as much as the French. The little Princess Tcherkásky is a girl eight or nine years old, really as pretty and nice for her age as if she had had the best education in France. She is, however, not the only child here who has had a very good bringing up, and one must do the parents here the justice to say that they spare nothing to have their children well educated, so that it is with astonishment that one sees the great changes which have been made in this nation in such a short time, and there is no more trace of the rude and displeasing behaviour they had not long ago. However, it is still hard for them to make a sacrifice of their accustomed love of ease to the love of dress. So said a few days ago the Duchess of Curland, when the Duke of Holstein was calling on her, and a lady came in wearing a sable cap: "Russians think too much of their ease, and coif themselves unwillingly, as one can see in this young lady." There were very few ladies on this occasion although there was dancing. During supper a blind Cossack played the bandura and sang a number of songs, which did not always seem quite suited to the company. Very little was drunk, the large glasses being taken about by the four sons of the Prince, three of whom are common soldiers in the guard, and the fourth a non-commissioned officer.

'On the 27th the Duke received an invitation from the Tsar to the launching of a ship. On such occasions there is no precedence and no rule for demeanour. The Duke sat at table at the left of the Tsar; on the right Ivan Micháïlovitch Golovín, the chief shipbuilder; then a Frenchman who had built this ship, and then the remaining shipbuilders. Also the Prince Pope and all his cardinals were there. Opposite Prince Menshikóf sat the Grand Admiral Apráxin, and on both sides of these the Senators and other great men of the Empire. The Tsar withdraws generally when the drunkenness is at its height, but does not allow any of the guests to go away before this measure is reached. On this occasion he placed guards before the cabin with the command that no one, whoever he might be, should be allowed to leave the ship before permission was given. No man dared to go up to him and the ladies, not even the Duke. The Grand Admiral was so full that he wept like a

child, which he usually does when he has too much. Prince Menshikóf fell dead drunk to the ground, whereupon his servants sent for the Princess and her sister, who livened him up a bit with different strong odours, and then got permission from the Tsar to take him home. In a word, there were few in this company who had not enough, and if one should describe all the follies that took place in these hours, one could fill several volumes with them. Here there was a brawl between the Prince of Moldavia and the police director, here another pair were quarrelling, while in another corner others drank *bruderschaft* and eternal fidelity.'

The gaiety of the Court reached perhaps its height at Moscow during the autumn of 1722, when Peter himself was absent on the Persian campaign, when there was less danger of being compelled to drink too much, and people could give themselves up to dancing and other amusements without the restraint of the Imperial presence. Nevertheless the drinking was not light, and of this Menshikóf, Yaguzhínsky, and the Duke of Holstein were always the leaders. Every despatch from Persia was made a pretext for a feast. The merry Duchess of Mecklenburg (*die wilde Herzogin*), who had recently arrived from Germany, was devoted to dancing, although she appeared badly in a minuet and preferred the *polsky*. She was living with her mother at Ismáïlofsky, but she was willing to drive to town over the bad Moscow roads, even when the mud was so thick that the wooden beams with which the streets were paved had entirely disappeared. She invited people to Ismáïlofsky, and there herself handed round the cup of *vodka* before dinner, presided over the meal, which was always badly cooked and worse served, and then an improvised ball went on till midnight. When the small drawing-room got too hot, the guests adjourned to the bedroom, where the Tsaritsa Prascovia was lying with the gout, or even to the bedroom of the Duchess herself, and kept on. The Tsaritsa was badly lodged at her villa, and paid little regard to appearances. It was generally necessary to pass through the bedrooms to reach the drawing-room and dining-room. On the return of the Emperor Bergholz drove out to Ismáïlofsky late in the evening to give the Tsaritsa the first news, as she had not expected her brother-in-

law for some days. Nearly every one was in bed, but the Duchess of Mecklenburg was so pleased that she made Bergholz announce the news himself, and took him first to the bedroom of her mother, then to her sister, and finally to the maids of honour, who were all undressed and in bed in a common room one next to the other, with very little comfort. The dirty and poor surroundings caused the chamberlain to note in his diary on his return: 'In general this nocturnal visit did not make a favourable impression upon me, although I had the luck to see many bare necks and bosoms.'

The chance for conversation at the assemblies was almost the only opportunity of intellectual entertainment furnished at that time in St. Petersburg. The first newspaper was not published until 1727, and foreign journals seldom found access to private houses. There were no concerts, and the theatre was not as flourishing as even in the time of the Tsar Alexis. Peter himself did not care for the theatre, and although he at one time arranged to establish a play-house, yet circumstances prevented the arrival of the company which he had engaged in Hamburg. A small wretched theatre existed for two or three years on the banks of the Móïka, where imitations of the French, translations of German farces and biblical pieces were exhibited. People flocked to see rope-dancing, jugglery, and the strong man Sampson from Germany, although it was necessary for them to make personal trial of Sampson's strength in order to be convinced that his feats were not illusions or helped by magic. The Princess Natalia had once started a small theatre in her own house, and the next attempt at anything like private theatricals appears to have been the work of the Duchess of Mecklenburg, who had contracted a taste for this amusement in Germany. She arranged a theatre at Ismáïlofsky, of which she was herself the manager, the actresses being ladies of the Court, and the actors for the most part servants. This gave pleasure and was well attended, in spite of the distance from Moscow, though the company could not have been too select, for Bergholz complains that on the first representation his snuff-box was stolen, and at another time all the Holstein gentlemen had their pockets picked of their silk handkerchiefs. Indeed on the eve of the second representation two of the

actors distributed play-bills through Moscow in order to make a little profit for themselves. The Duchess was so angry at this that she had each of them given two hundred blows of the stick, dismissed them, and filled up their places. After the arrival of the Emperor similar performances continued in a theatre improvised in the large hall of the hospital.

In spite of such little incidents as a hand-to-hand fight at a great supper in the presence of the Emperor, between Ramodanófsky and Prince Gregory Dolgorúky, who, to be sure, were old enemies on account of a divorce suit, and one of the guests on another occasion walking over the supper table and stumbling into a pie, there can be no question but that the manners of the epoch were softened by the social innovations of Peter. The difference in the reception of Weber by the magnates in 1714 and of Bassewitz and others in 1721 is a sufficient proof of this. At the same time this sudden emancipation of the women, after they had been shut up for so many generations in their houses without being allowed to mix in general society, produced its natural consequences in a depravation of morals, on which Prince Stcherbátof, who clung to the old time usages and lauded the pure morals of old days, laid great stress. The ladies naturally were the first to welcome the change. It was a great pleasure for them to be relieved of their restraint, to have some chance of seeing freely the men who might be their future husbands, and to be able to dance; and they were especially glad of the opportunities for displaying their charms. The natural result was great extravagance in dress, and in this the men were soon not far behind. Instead of one fine garment for State occasions, which passed from father to son, the men habitually wore rich coats embroidered with gold. This was followed by great extravagance in living, numerous servants in fine liveries, splendid furniture, rich equipages, an open table set with costly foreign delicacies and expensive wines, much show and much waste. What with the dearness of ordinary life at St. Petersburg, incomes no longer sufficed for the expenses, debts were incurred and many families were gradually ruined. Even Field-Marshal Sheremétief was obliged to beg for a salary, and died in debt. Considering his own manner of life, the Tsar could not be very severe upon deviations from

morality. Disregarding all entreaties, he insisted on the execution of Catherine's maid of honour, the charming Miss Hamilton, for infanticide, but he winked at mere irregularities. He allowed, even advised Yaguzhínsky to divorce his first wife, who was in truth a vixen, and found him a second wife whom he thought more suitable. He refused to allow Prince Repnín to marry a Finnish girl as a fourth wife, contrary to the dictates of the Church, but legitimised his children with the name of Repnínsky. So, too, a natural son whom Prince Trubetskóy brought back from Sweden was recognised as Betsky. Nobles named Ruky, Litsyn, Raptsof, &c., whose shortened names corresponded to a bar sinister, became henceforward not uncommon.

For several years Peter had taken the habit of making cures at the ferruginous, or 'martial waters,' which had been discovered in the province of Olonétz, and which he insisted were equal to any in Germany. This opinion was not shared by every one, and several predicted that his health would become greatly worse if he continued to drink these waters. Owing to the want of roads, the only time when it was easy to get to these springs was in winter, when sledges could be used. Peter varied the monotony of life in this wretched village by working diligently at his turning lathe, and by going to the neighbouring forges and hammering out bars and sheets of iron. In winter he could not be as careless in the matter of food as he had been at Spa. A witty Frenchman has said that the great miracle of Spa is that the Tsar was able to drink the water, continue his mode of life, and yet live and even be better for it. He never conformed exactly to the prescriptions of the physicians. Sometimes, for instance, he would drink twenty-one glasses of water in a morning, which seemed to have no other effect than to produce an excellent appetite. He was forbidden to eat fruit unless cooked. Yet it is said that one day, immediately after taking the waters, he ate ten pounds of cherries and a dozen figs.

In summer the Tsar was as much as possible on the water. When not cruising with his fleet on the gulf, or inspecting his harbour works at Reval and Rogerwyk, or Baltic port, one of his favourite amusements was to sail on the Neva together with

his principal nobles in *boyers*—light sailing yachts—which he had compelled them to build and to sail themselves. Frequently he took them as far as Cronstadt. The foreign ministers were often invited. Here is Weber's experience in June, 1718: 'The Tsar went to Cronslot, where we also followed in a galley, but in consequence of a great storm we were obliged to remain at anchor in this open boat for two days and two nights, without lights, without beds, without food and drink. When at last we arrived at Cronslot, the Tsar invited us to his villa at Peterhof. We went with a fair wind, and at dinner warmed ourselves to such a degree with old Hungarian wine, although His Majesty spared himself, that on rising from the table we could scarcely keep on our legs, and when we had been obliged to drain quite a quart apiece from the hands of the Tsaritsa we lost all our senses, and in that condition they carried us out to different places, some to the garden, some to the woods, while the rest lay on the ground here and there. At four o'clock they woke us up and again invited us to the summer-house, where the Tsar gave us each an axe and bade us follow him. He led us into a young wood where he pointed out trees which it was necessary to fell in order to make an alley straight to the sea, about a hundred paces long, and told us to cut down the trees. He himself began work on the spot (there were seven of us besides the Tsar), and although this unaccustomed work, especially in our far from sober condition, was not at all to our liking, we nevertheless cut boldly and diligently, so that in about three hours the alley was ready and the fumes of wine had entirely evaporated. None of us did himself any harm except Minister X, who unconsciously cut one tree and was knocked down by another, badly scratched. After verbal thanks we received our real recompense after supper in a second drink, which was so strong that we were taken to our beds unconscious. We had hardly succeeded in sleeping an hour or two before the Tsar's favourite appeared, pulled us out of our beds, and dragged us against our will to the room of a Circassian prince, asleep there with his wife, where before his bed we had again to drink so much wine and *vodka* that on the following day none of us could remember who brought us home. At eight o'clock in the morning we were invited to the palace to breakfast, which con-

sisted of a good glass of *vodka*, and afterwards were taken to the foot of a little hill and made to mount some wretched country nags without saddles or stirrups, and ride about for an hour in sight of their Majesties, who stood at the window. At dinner again for the fourth time we had to drink freely. As the wind was strong we were put into the Tsar's covered boat, in which the Tsaritsa with her maid of honour had occupied the cabin, while the Tsar stood with us on the open deck and assured us that in spite of the strong wind ahead we should arrive at Cronstadt at four o'clock. But after we had manœuvred about for two hours we were caught by such a frightful squall, that the Tsar, leaving all his jokes, himself took hold of the rudder, and in that danger displayed not only great knowledge of manœuvring, but unusual physical strength and steadfastness. The Tsaritsa, in consequence of the waves which beat over the whole boat, and the dripping rain which ran into her cabin, was sheltered under some benches which were tilted up for the purpose, and in that difficult position showed also great presence of mind. We all gave ourselves up wholly to the will of God, and consoled ourselves with the thought that we should drown in company with such exalted personages. All effects of the drink disappeared very quickly, and we were filled with thoughts of repentance. Four *boyers* on which were the Court of the Tsaritsa and our servants, were tossed about by the waves and driven ashore. Our boat, on account of its great strength and the experienced sailors, after seven dangerous hours reached the harbour of Cronstadt, where the Tsar left us, saying: "A pleasant night. The amusement was rather too strong." The next day he had an attack of fever. As the rain had drenched us for the whole day, and besides that we had sat for four hours up to our waist in water, we lighted a fire on the island, and not having with us any clothes or beds or any of our other things, which were with our servants, we stripped, wrapped ourselves in rough coverings which we borrowed from the peasants, and during the night as we warmed ourselves at the fire had time enough to express our ideas on the wretchedness and uncertainties of human life. After this excursion we all fell ill with fevers or some other malady.'

We know of Peter's great love of practical joking, his seem-

ingly uncontrollable desire to make a man do what was most distasteful to him; as when once passing by Duderhof, he made an official who had a repugnance to Hungarian wine drink so much of it that the poor man would have died if, after the Tsar's departure, his servant had not dragged him out into the snow and left him there awhile. We know in general of his passion for making others drunk. We know, too, of his fondness for masquerades, travesty, and buffoonery, of the peculiar position created for Ramodanófsky, as a kind of mock-Tsar, and of the way in which he celebrated his victories. Of a piece with all this were his parodies of religious rites and ceremonies, which have so puzzled historians, and in which some have tried to find a deep moral meaning. In reality, they are merely the clownish and brutal efforts at amusement which seem necessary to men of a certain coarser fibre, even though they be endowed with intellectual and moral qualities of a high order. Condemn this as we may in our riper years, yet there are few of us who, on reviewing their lives, will not admit that the capacity for such amusement is a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race—though, as we see, not of that alone. 'The most mad, most frolicsome, and most drunken Synod,' was started when Peter was a youth of seventeen, and continued to the very end of his life. Its numerous memoranda, instructions, by-laws, and constantly changing ceremonies were written out by Peter's own hand, even to the slightest alteration.

As Ramodanófsky was the 'mock-Tsar,' so Nikíta Zótof, the first tutor of Peter, was appointed 'mock-Patriarch,' with a proper suite of archbishops, priests, and deacons, with even a lady abbess and nuns. The parody, which was at first made on the Russian clergy, was finally changed to one of the Latin hierarchy, and Zótof received the title of Prince-Pope, and had joined to him a college of cardinals. Every member had some coarse and obscene nickname, and the irreverent ceremonies of election and institution, while borrowed from those of the Vatican, received foul and disgusting additions. In 1702 the marriage of the Tsar's jester, Shansky, took place in the cathedral at Moscow, with a great procession of the 'Drunken Synod' clad in robes imitating those of the old Russian boyars and clergy. Twelve years afterwards Zótof—who had obtained for

himself one evening, when Peter was in especially good humour, the title of count, which was withdrawn from his children—being now seventy years old, proposed to retire to a monastery. Instead of this Peter ordered him to marry again, and chose for his wife an old lady, the widow of Stremoúkhof, and in spite of the mockery of ecclesiastical dignitaries, the religious ceremony was celebrated in the Archangel Cathedral by a priest of ninety, assisted by the oldest clergy that could be found. Preparations were begun early in the autumn, and in the masquerade and wedding procession, Catherine, the Tsaritsas Martha and Prascovia, and even some of the foreign ministers, were obliged to take part. Zótof died in 1717, and, as was to be expected, his son Kónon Zótof, who had been a good servant of the Tsar, and had originally protested against the marriage, had a dispute about the inheritance with the widow, who had been granted a fourth of the property. Buturlín was chosen Prince-Pope, with ceremonies which, as they were not as public as the marriage, were all the more blasphemous and obscene, and still later he married the widow of Zótof.

Let us now pass to a pleasanter picture as illustrative of Peter's kindly manners in dealing with those whom he liked. Ivan Ivánovitch Neplúief, the son of a small proprietor at Novgorod, was drafted into the service and sent to learn mathematics in 1715, when he was already twenty-two years old and the father of two children. The next year he was one of the thirty to be attached to the fleet as midshipmen, and sent to Copenhagen. Thence they went to Amsterdam, and were sent by the Tsar to Venice to enter the naval service of the Republic. In this they continued for two years, chiefly stationed at Corfu, but serving on board the galleys in various battles against the Turks. From Venice they crossed Italy to Florence, went thence to Genoa, where they were for a time detained by the French agent, then to Toulon and Marseilles, and finally to Cadiz, where for some six months they were in the Spanish service, and returned to St. Petersburg only in June, 1720. They were received in the most friendly manner by Gregory Tchernyshéf, the adjutant of the Tsar, and by the Admiral-in-Chief, Count Apráxin, who presented them to the Tsar at the College of the Admiralty, where they had been ordered to be

at five o'clock in the morning. Neplúief says: 'I do not know how my comrades received the news, but I did not sleep the whole night, and prepared myself as if for the day of judgment.' Tchernyshéf passed by and cheered them up a little, telling them to speak the truth and have no fear, and at seven they were shown into the Tsar's presence. He was either unwell or in a bad humour, for he simply asked them whether they had certificates from their commanders, whether they had all served on the galleys or some on ships. On hearing their replies, he turned to the Admiral and said: 'I want to see them at practice, so inscribe them as midshipmen.' He had not yet finished, when Tchernyshéf said: 'That would be a sin, Sire, for men who have been away from their families for so many years in strange countries to do your will, who have suffered hunger and cold and poverty, who have learned as well as they can in order to please you, and who have even been midshipmen in a foreign country, and now returning by your command have hoped to receive reward for their services and knowledge, to be put on an equality with those who have had no experience.' The Tsar replied: 'Oh, I will reward them. Let them serve one campaign.' 'But is it easy, Sire, for those to serve as midshipmen who are already fit to command a ship or a galley?' 'Who is fit?' said the Tsar. 'For instance, Káisarof and Neplúief.' Peter immediately had these two shown to him, looked at them carefully for a moment, and then ordered that in a month there should be a full meeting of the college, and that all should be examined. When it came to Neplúief's turn for examination, the Tsar was very amiable, and, as Neplúief knelt down, turned up his right cuff and gave his hand to be kissed, saying: 'You see, brother, that I am Tsar, yet there are callous places on my hands, because I wished to give you an example, and even in my old age have worthy servants and assistants of the country.' As Neplúief kissed his hand, he said: 'Stand up, brother, and answer to the questions. Do not be afraid. If you know say so, if you do not know say so too.' The result of the examination was that Neplúief and Káisarof were made lieutenants in the galley fleet, and that the rest were given other but subordinate positions. Shortly after, Neplúief was made inspector and commander of naval constructions, and saw the Tsar nearly every day, who

always stopped to converse with him about all sorts of matters. Tchernyshéf told him of the Tsar's high opinion of him, and gave him good advice—told him to be diligent at his work, 'always speak the truth, and never lie, even if it were a bad affair. He is only more angry if you lie.' Once he came to the Admiralty and found the Tsar already there. He was at first frightened, and thought of running home and pretending to be ill, but collected himself and went up to where Peter was standing, who, seeing him, said: 'You see, my friend, I am here before you.' He replied: 'I am to blame, Sire; but last night I was in company and stayed a long time, and for that reason am late.' Seizing him by the shoulder, the Tsar squeezed it so hard that Neplúief trembled, thinking that he was angry. 'Thanks, my boy,' he said, 'that you speak the truth. God will forgive. Who is not the descendant of woman? And now come along with me to a birth.' 'I bowed, and got up behind his carriage. We drove on to the cottage of the carpenter of my command, and went in. The Tsar gave the mother five *grivnas*,[1] and kissed her, while I stayed at the door. He told me to do the same, and I gave her a *grivna*. The Tsar then asked the midwife: "What did the lieutenant give?" She showed the *grivna*, and he laughed and said: "Oh, brother, I see you do not make presents in a naval style." "I am not able, Sire, to give much. I am a poor nobleman. I have a wife and children, and if it were not for your salary, living here, I should not even have anything to eat." The Tsar asked me how many children I had, and where they were. I told him all truly and without concealment. Then the master of the house brought us on a wooden plate a glass of *vodka*. The Tsar tasted of it, and ate a carrot pie. Then he brought me the same. As I had never drunk any *vodka* I refused, and the Tsar said to me: "Taste as much as you can of it—do not offend him;" which I did, and with his own hands he broke off a piece of his pie and gave it to me, saying, "Eat it; this is native and not Italian food." After that we came away, and I went home to dinner.' Neplúief was frequently employed in

[1] Catherine always gave ducats or rubles on such occasions, and the frequent fees made a great drain on her purse.

translating for foreign ministers at the launch of a new ship. In January, 1721, there was a banquet for all the boyars, and the naval and court officers, at which Neplúief was present. 'We, having finished our dinner sooner, rose from the table, and I and several others went into the room where the Tsar was still sitting at table. He was very merry, and after a little time began a conversation, in which he said that he needed a man who spoke Italian to send as Resident to Constantinople. Count Golófkin answered that he did not know of any such, but Admiral Apráxin said that he knew such a one, and a very worthy one, but it was a pity that he was very poor. The Tsar replied that poverty was not a crime, that could soon be remedied, but who is it? Count Apráxin replied: "There he stands, behind you." "Yes, there are many standing behind me," said the Tsar. Count Apráxin said: "One you like so much, your galley constructor." He turned round, and looking at me, said: "It is true that he is a good man, but I would like to keep him for myself." I bowed to the Tsar, and he, thinking for a moment, ordered my appointment to that mission, and as they rose from the table the Admiral congratulated me as Resident, and taking my hand led me up to thank the Tsar. I fell at his feet, and seizing them kissed them and wept. He deigned to raise me up, and taking me by the hand said: "Do not bow down, brother; I am placed over you by God, and my duty is to see that I do not give to an unworthy man or take away from a worthy one. Provided you do well you will do good, not to me, but rather to yourself and your country, and if you are bad then I am a judge, for God demands from me with regard to all of you that I do not give places to the wicked or stupid. Serve, then, with fidelity and probity. First God, and after Him even I will not abandon you." Saying this, and looking about, he deigned to say: "Whom shall I take in his place?" and with these words he stretched out his hand, which I immediately kissed, and he went away. My benefactor, Gregory Petróvitch, embraced and kissed me out of joy, while I could not say a word.' Neplúief was then only twenty-eight years of age. Apráxin, Tchernyshéf, and even Osterman were all very amiable to him on his departure. Provision was made for his wife, whom he left behind, and he went to Constanti-

nople shortly after, taking with him his eldest son, Adrian, a boy of nine years, whom he subsequently sent to school in Holland. He seems to have deserved the good opinion of the Tsar, for his services at Constantinople were appreciated, and he was rewarded both with rank and with landed estates. He remained at Constantinople until 1734, and rose subsequently to be a senator.[1]

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[1] Golikóf, vi., vii., viii., ix.; Soloviéf, xvi., xvii., xviii.; Reimer, *St. Petersburg;* Weber, *Neuverändertes Russland;* Weber, *Despatches;* La Vie, *Despatches;* Hermann, *Geschichte des Russischen Staates;* Bassewitz, *Eclaircissements;* Bergholz, *Tagebuch;* Semefsky, *Tsaritsa Prascovia*, St. Petersburg, 1883; Semefsky, *The Mons Family;* Prince M. Stcherbátof, *Depravation of Morals in Russia;* Prince Pierre Dolgorukow, *Mémoires;* Neplúief, *Memoirs.*

LXXVII.

THE PERSIAN CAMPAIGN.—1722–23.

In the speech which Peter made on accepting the Imperial title he gave his own version of the advice of Vegetius, *Qui desiderat pacem praeparet bellum*, and he had not yet ended the festivities at Moscow for the peace of Nystad before he had resolved on a war with Persia.

The relations of Russia to the countries of Asia had, since the end of the Tartar domination, been governed by commercial considerations merely. It was the desire to improve trade which had caused the first mission to China, and which, in spite of rebuffs, had led to others since. The unruly Cossacks of Siberia by their raids across the frontier, and especially by building the fort of Albazín on Chinese territory, had brought on a war with China, which was settled only by the treaty of Nertchínsk in 1689, when the government was still carried on by Sophia and Golítsyn. By this the Russians drew back their boundary line and retired from the bank of the Amur. A Russian religious mission, which had been established at Pekin for the benefit of Cossack prisoners, was still retained, and trade in tea and furs went on briskly between the two countries, although, as we have seen, without special advantage to the exchequer. In 1692 Eleazar Ysbrandt Ides, a Danish merchant in Russia, had been sent as envoy to the Emperor Khang-Hi; but he had the usual difficulties about etiquette, and although he conformed to the Chinese demands, he did not succeed in obtaining the greater commercial privileges which were desired. He ascertained, however, what had been still in doubt at Moscow, that the Emperor Khang-Hi had ratified the treaty of Nertchínsk. By this treaty a district between the river Amur

and the Okhotsk Sea had been left without fixed boundary, and this was thought disadvantageous to Russia as productive of boundary disputes, but Ides was unable to effect the demarcation. Russian caravans, however, still went regularly to Pekin; an embassy sent by Ayúka, the Khan of the Kalmuks, under the escort of a Russian officer, was well received in 1715, and the Archimandrite Hilarion, who had joined it with his mission, was given the rank of mandarin of the fifth class. In 1717 and 1718 the Russian merchants coming to Pekin were sent back, and trade was allowed only with a frontier town. In consequence of this the Tsar in 1719 sent an Envoy Extraordinary to Pekin, Captain Leo Ismáïlof, of the Preobrazhénsky regiment. Among the presents sent to the Bogdy-Khan, who was for the first time given by the Russians the title of Emperor and Majesty, were four ivory telescopes, made by Peter's own hand, with a picture inside of the battle of Poltáva. With the help of the Jesuits, then in great favour at Pekin, Ismáïlof succeeded, by timely concessions, in avoiding many of the difficulties of his predecessors, and was received on a familiar footing at the Chinese court. Besides the regulation of the boundary question he demanded free trade without internal duties, the construction of a Russian church in Pekin, and the establishment of Russian consulates in China. The Chinese replied: 'Our Emperor has no bazaars. You estimate your merchants very highly. We despise mercantile affairs. Only poor people and servants occupy themselves in that way with us, and there is no profit at all to us from your trade. We have enough of Russian goods even if your people did not bring them, and it is a loss to us to convoy them.' Ismáïlof insisted, when, luckily for the Chinese, news came that several hundred Mongols had run away across the Russian frontier. They then refused to continue negotiations until this matter was entirely settled, and after the departure of Ismáïlof, who was allowed to leave his secretary of legation, Lorenz Lang, as agent, hindered Russian caravans, refused admission to a Russian bishop, and even invaded what was claimed as Siberian territory, on the ground that the Mongol deserters had not been surrendered. After the death of Khang-Hi and the accession of his son Yong-Tchi, an enemy to Christians, there

seemed danger of actual war, but this was averted, and a treaty was finally concluded by Savva Raguzhínsky in 1727.

Peter, who had acquired a great deal of knowledge about Asia, had gradually come to understand matters there, and the true interests of Russia. Even in 1698, while on his journey abroad, he had written to Vinius, who had informed him of the state of the Russian church at Pekin and of the conversion of the Chinese. 'That affair is all very well, only, for God's sake, act carefully and not hastily, so as not to indispose the Chinese officials, as well as the Jesuits, who have made their nest there since a long time. Wherefore we should have priests there not so learned as sensible and subtle, lest through some overpride all this holy business go to the utmost ruin.' He was much interested in the account Ismáïlof, who returned to Moscow in January, 1722, gave of his mission, of the state of affairs in China and Siberia, and of his familiar conversations with the emperor. On the eve of a war against Persia, Peter was amused at the warning sent to him of the dangers of the sea, and the advice to stay at home quietly and spare his health, while sending others out on military expeditions. He had gradually come to see that the key to all dealings in Asia was a good understanding with the Jungarians, then at the height of their power, living in and about Kuldja and the valley of the Ili. Tsevan Rabdan, the Kalmuk ruler of Jungaria, sent an embassy to Russia to ask for the Tsar's assistance in a war with China—about which the Chinese complained to Lang—and in 1722 Captain Unkófsky was in return sent to Jungaria to ascertain the condition and strength of the people and what might be done with them. With the western horde of Kalmuks, which since 1636 had been settled on the Lower Volga near Astrakhán, within the Russian dominions, the Russian relations were generally friendly, though much of the same character as those of the United States and the American Indians. Treaties were made and sometimes broken. Small garrisons were kept in detached posts to see that the Kalmuks did not venture too far out of their bounds. In 1697 so much confidence was felt in them that the Khan Ayúka was entrusted with the defence of south-east Russia, while in 1707 they refused their aid against the mountaineers of the Caucasus who

attacked the Terek frontier, and in 1708 themselves crossed the Volga, wasted the provinces of Tambóf and Penza, and sold many Russians as slaves in Persia and Central Asia.

Prince Gagárin, the Governor of Siberia, had reported that gold sand was to be found near the town of Erket, Erken or Yerken (supposed to be Yarkand) on the river Darya, and proposed to send an expedition there. Gold had not yet been discovered in the Ural or in Siberia, and the Tsar, who was so anxious to increase the stock of the precious metals in Russia, and who had confirmation of this story from a Khivan ambassador, readily agreed to the proposition, but sent out in 1714 Lieutenant-Colonel Buchholtz to command the expedition, with orders to construct a fort on Lake Yamýsh, then advance to Erket, occupy it and obtain information about the places where gold sand was found and about the mouth of the river. Buchholtz reported two years afterwards that he had built the fort, but that it was dangerous to go to Erket on account of the small number of soldiers he then had, for many of them had run away to Siberia, where they found a free life. Subsequently more than ten thousand Kalmuks besieged Buchholtz in his fort. Many soldiers died of disease, and finally, in May, 1716, he accepted the terms offered by the Kalmuks, razed his fort, and withdrew down the Irtýsh to the mouth of the Om, where he constructed a new fort, Omsk. General Likháref, who was sent to Siberia in 1719 to investigate the maladministration of Prince Gagárin, was also instructed to ascertain the truth about the gold sand at Erket, and if true to advance if he could without too much danger to Lake Zaisan, to establish a fort there, to explore the country and the road from Zaisan to Erket, and especially to investigate the question whether there were any rivers running from Lake Zaisan into the Darya on the Aral Sea, but not to run any risk. This caution was added partly on account of the misadventure of Buchholtz, and partly because of the ruin which had come upon another expedition for this purpose—that of Prince Békovitch Tcherkásky. None of the expeditions against Erket could succeed, partly on account of the physical difficulties of the country—for the geography of the region about Yarkand was not known in that day, nor, indeed, up to very recent times—and partly because

not enough gold exists in the upper waters of the rivers of central Asia to pay for washing the sands. But Buchholtz and Likháref finally established the Russian power on the middle and upper Irtýsh. The wish of Peter to increase his supply of gold was not, however, so strong as his desire to get for Russia a part of the rich trade with India, or at least to make it pass through Russia to Europe. The legendary power and wealth of the Great Mogul, the splendour of the reign of Aurengzebe, the thriving factories of English and French traders, even the reports of the few Russian merchants who had visited the country, all gave him a great idea of the importance of the Indian trade. The settlements of foreigners at Calcutta, Madras, Goa, and Pondicherry were still so unimportant that it was allowable to dream of diverting the trade of India without being accused of designs against the British empire. Bukharans and Khivans traded with India, and they also exchanged commodities with Russian merchants at convenient places in the steppe or on the shore of the Caspian; a colony of Russian merchants was settled at Shemaha, engaged in the silk trade with Persia. Not infrequent embassies had been exchanged between Moscow and the petty sovereigns of Central Asia; sometimes when hard pressed by rebellious subjects these Khans had asked for Russian aid, and with Asiatic lightness had offered their submission and promised their fealty—offers and promises never intended to bind for long.

When in 1713 a Turkoman named Hadji Nefes came to Astrakhán with stories of gold to be found along the Amu Darya, Peter, remembering offers of submission made by a Khivan Khan ten years before, thought he might use them to establish himself in Asia and open the way to India. He therefore resolved to send an embassy to Khiva with the nominal mission of congratulating the new Khan on his accession to the throne. Unfortunately, instead of entrusting this expedition to some shrewd and obstinate Russian, he confided it to an Oriental, who was thought to be particularly suited to the country and the undertaking, Prince Alexander Békovitch Tcherkásky, a Prince of the Kabarda, called originally Devlet Kisden Mirza, a name he had changed on becoming converted to Chris-

tianity.[1] He was a captain of the guard, and had been employed in various ways at Astrakhán and on the frontier of the Caucasus, where his brothers were still ruling princes. A long time was spent in preparations, and finally, in the winter of 1716, when Békovitch had already arrived at Astrakhán, he was sent for to meet and consult with the Tsar at Riga. Peter had heard news there which had materially changed his ideas and instructions. He had found two men, Andrew Seménof and Simeon Málenky, who had in 1696 gone as merchants to Persia, and thence to India by the way of Ispahan and Bender Surat, getting as far as Agra and Delhi. It was now resolved not only to send Békovitch to the Khan of Khiva, but to despatch merchants with a proper escort both to the Khan of Bukhara and the Indian Mogul with letters of credence. This last created some difficulty, as there never had been any precedents, and Golófkin did not know how to style the Mogul in an official letter.

The instructions given to Békovitch were to construct a fort on the Caspian at the old mouth of the Amu Darya; to investigate carefully the course of that river, the dam which sent it into its new channel, and whether by breaking this dam it could not be restored to the old course; to persuade the Khan of Khiva to accept Russian suzerainty by promising him hereditary succession to his throne and a Russian guard for his protection; to ask him to send some men by the Syr Darya to Erket to learn whether gold could be found there; to get boats from the Khan, and send merchants and naval officers and engineers disguised as such up the Amu Darya to India, with instructions carefully to explore the country through which they might go, and if in India they should hear of a better route to the Caspian to return by that way and describe it; and to make friends with the Khan of Bukhara. For this purpose Békovitch was given 4,000 regular troops, besides Cossacks. In the autumn of 1716 Békovitch constructed two forts on the eastern shore of the Caspian and then returned to Astrakhán, where

[1] Békovitch Tcherkásky means simply son of a Tcherkess or Circassian bek or prince. This prince was in no way connected with the other Tcherkásky families, of similar origin, prominent in Russian history.

he heard from various quarters, from Ayúka, the Khan of the Kalmuks, and from men who had been sent to Khiva, that there was dissatisfaction at his erecting a fort on Khivan territory, that the Khivans were armed and feared lest instead of coming as an ambassador he wished to take their capital by surprise. Ayúka also called attention to the want of water and of forage, but no great credence seems to have been given to his statements. In June, 1717, Békovitch marched over the steppe towards Khiva, and when about a hundred miles from that city had a fight with the Khivans, which lasted three days, and ended in their submitting themselves and asking for peace. Peace was granted, and the Khan and the leading Khivans swore on the Koran to abide by it. The Khan invited him to go to Khiva, but for the greater convenience of provisioning his troops suggested that they should be divided into several detachments and stationed in different towns. Békovitch foolishly consented, and the result was that his troops were soon disarmed, he himself and most of his officers murdered, and the men sold for slaves. The head of Békovitch was sent as a present to Bukhara, and his skin was stuffed and exhibited in the court of the palace. It was only gradually that the news reached Russia, through Tartars and Cossacks who succeeded in escaping. Three years later, in May, 1720, a Khivan envoy arrived at Astrakhán, bringing a letter to the Tsar, asking for the renewal of previous friendship, laying all the blame of what had happened upon Békovitch, attempting to exonerate the Khan, and offering to give up the prisoners if desired. He was sent to St. Petersburg under arrest, and died there in the fortress. A letter with information of his death, and demanding the surrender of the captives, was sent by the Chancellor to the Khan of Khiva, who stamped on it with his foot, and gave it to the children to play with.

The relations of Russia with Persia had always been amicable. Persian envoys came to Russia from time to time, and Russian merchants, as we have said, were established at Shemaha and other Persian towns on the Caspian engaged in the silk trade. This trade was chiefly carried on by Armenians, and the Tsar was very desirous of getting it into his hands. But before he took any decided steps he sent, in 1715, as envoy

to Persia, Artemius Volýnsky, a young man of good family, who had been brought up by one of the Soltykófs, who had entered the service as a dragoon, and had acted several times as courier between the Tsar and Shafírof during the negotiations with the Turks after the campaign on the Pruth. He had even been imprisoned with the Russian mission in the Seven Towers at Constantinople. His general instructions were to study the country, especially in a commercial sense; but Peter added with his own hand the direction to investigate from what quarters rivers ran into the Caspian, and whether there were not some river falling into it which came from India. He was to endeavour to persuade the Shah, even by bribing his advisers, to turn the Armenian trade in raw silk through Russia, representing the advantages of water communication to St. Petersburg, instead of being obliged to use caravans and camels through Turkey. If this were impossible, he was at least to try to throw some obstacles in the way of the Smyrna and Aleppo trade. It took some time to find the proper persons to accompany him, and it was not until the autumn of 1716 that Volýnsky was able to leave Astrakhán. He was then kept all the winter at Shemaha, where he had the misfortune to lose one of his secretaries, the German Wenigerkind, a man of parts and information, as well as a French engineer who accompanied him, though he still retained John Bell of Antermony, who subsequently published a detailed journal of the expedition. After some suffering from heat and the bad roads, which perhaps he exaggerated in his letters to Catherine, Mons, and Makárof, in order to enhance the value of his services, Volýnsky arrived at Ispahan in the spring of 1717, where he was at first well received, but subsequently confined in his house under a strict guard. The Persians had learnt of the disastrous campaign of Békovitch, and of the construction of forts on the Caspian. There were also rumours of Russian troops advancing into Persian territory. He was three times received by the Shah Hussein, and had several conferences with the Vizier Ekhtem Devlet, but before he had finished his business he was notified that he must leave, and was granted his farewell audience. 'This is hard to believe,' wrote Volýnsky, 'for here there is now such a head that he is not over his subjects but

the subject of his subjects, and I am sure that it is rarely one can find such a fool, even among common men, not to say crowned heads. For that reason he never does any business himself, but puts everything on his Vizier, who is stupider than any cattle, but is still such a favourite that the Shah pays attention to everything that comes out of his mouth, and does whatever he bids.' Volýnsky thought that the obstacles put in his way were to prevent his obtaining any knowledge of the country, as since Russia had become such a powerful state the Persians were very much afraid of it. He speaks in strong terms of the general disorder existing in Persia at that time, and prophesies the speedy ruin of the country unless the ruler be changed. He succeeded in remaining at Ispahan until the middle of September, and concluded a treaty by which Russian merchants were given the right of trading freely throughout Persia, and buying raw silk wherever and in what quantities they desired. He returned through Ghilan, whither he had before been prevented from going on account of the epidemic, and was obliged to pass another winter in Shemaha, where he found every one excited at rumours of Russian invasion. At the same time, a Georgian noble, Farsidun Bek, whom he had known at Ispahan, came to him on the part of Vakhtan, Prince of Georgia,—who had become a Mussulman to save his kingdom, and was nominally commander-in-chief of the Persian armies,—with the request for Russian assistance, promising to aid the Tsar against Persia.

In spite of the accusations of delay and bad management which greeted Volýnsky on his return, he succeeded, through his connections with the Court and Catherine, in justifying himself, in being appointed Governor of Astrakhán, Adjutant-General of the Tsar, and subsequently in marrying a lady of the Naryshkin family, a relative of the Tsar himself.

On going to Astrakhán, Volýnsky was instructed to manipulate the various princes of the Caucasus so as to prepare the way for an attack on Persia. His own opinion was that force would be of much more service than intrigue, and he constantly wrote to the Tsar in that sense. Finally, in September, 1721, he received news which he thought would at once decide the Tsar for war. Daud Bek, ruler of the Lesghians, who had

asked for Russian assistance to rebel against the Shah, thought that the time had arrived when he could safely attack a Persian town without aid, and in connection with another petty prince captured Shemaha, and burned and sacked the better houses. The Russian merchants were not alarmed, as they had been assured by the conquerors that they would not be touched. It was found difficult to restrain the soldiery, and they finally fell upon the Russian shops in the bazaar, drove away the clerks, killed several, and carried off all the goods, worth fully half a million rubles. One very rich merchant, Evréinof, lost 170,000 rubles and was totally ruined. Volýnsky in reporting this thought it was an opportunity that should not be lost, as the Russians could attack Persia under the guise of attacking the enemies of Persia, and assured the Tsar that ten regiments of infantry and four of cavalry, with three thousand selected Cossacks, would be all that would be required, provided they had sufficient ammunition and provisions. Peace had been made with Sweden, nothing prevented the Emperor from endeavouring to protect Russian trade on the shores of the Caspian, and in December he replied to Volýnsky: 'I have received your letter in which you wrote about the affair of Daud Bek, and that now is the very occasion for what you were ordered to prepare. To this opinion of yours I answer that it it very evident we should not let this occasion slip. We have ordered a considerable part of our forces on the Volga to march to winter quarters, whence they will go to Astrakhán in the spring. As to what you wrote about the Prince of Georgia and other Christians, if any of these should be desirable in this matter give them hopes, but on account of the habitual fickleness of these people, begin nothing until the arrival of our troops, when we will act according to best counsel.' Makárof wrote at the same time that all were of his opinion with regard to the occupation of Shemaha, and that he hoped everything would be as he had written. Meanwhile he was trying to get an order for him to come to Moscow, and added that the Tsar had looked at and examined the specimens of saffron root which he had sent, had given them to the gardener to be planted, and desired him to make some inquiries about the cultivation of cotton.

At the beginning of 1722, while the Emperor was at Moscow, news was received from the Russian Consul in Persia, Simeon Abrámof, that the Afghans under the leadership of Mahmud, the son of Mir Weis, had rebelled against the Shah Hussein, and after defeating the Persian troops had occupied Ispahan. Hussein had abdicated in favour of his eldest son, but the people being discontented with him, he had then appointed his second, and subsequently his third son, Tahmasp Mirza, but that even this had done no good as the Persians had been beaten in the second battle. After this news, and knowing that the Turks were desirous of profiting by the fall of Persia, no time was to be lost if the Emperor really intended to establish himself on the Caspian. Part of the guard was sent from Moscow on May 14, and ten days later the Emperor himself, accompanied by Admiral Apráxin, Tolstói, and Prince Cantemir, set out for Kolomna, on the river Oká, where they were joined by the Empress. By boats and barges down the Oká and the Volga to Astrakhán, even with high water, took them a month —a journey which even now with railways and steamboats is not made in less than a week. A month of physical rest like this was calculated to do Peter much good, for the five months just passed in Moscow had been by no means months of repose. But even on this voyage Peter's mind was too active to rest. All day long he was busy with letters, decrees, and plans. He stopped at every town, looked at objects of interest, talked with officials and inhabitants at every station, received petitions and heard complaints, inquired about local needs and resources, and asked awkward questions about accounts and administration. Little escaped his keen eye, and besides devising changes in the style of barges on the Oká and the Volga, he sent from Astrakhán plans drawn by his own hand of improved cottages for the peasants. If Peter, with his energy and activity and his ready intelligence, could only have left war and foreign politics alone, and studied his own Russian people as well as he had studied the civilisation and ideas of the West, what real and lasting benefits might he not have conferred upon his country! At Nízhni Nóvgorod there was a halt of a few days on account of Peter's birthday, which was celebrated in the usual fashion, ending up with a banquet in the house of Alexander Stróganof,

perhaps then the richest man in Russia, who, with his two brothers, in recompense for their great services in developing the mines of the Ural, had just been created Baron. There Peter, as natural to every patriot, inquired about the descendants of the famous peasant Minin, who saved Russia from the Poles, and expressed great regret that his posterity was extinct. At Kazán, which he was the first Russian Sovereign and 'Tsar of Kazán' to visit since it was conquered by Ivan the Terrible 170 years before, he went almost immediately to the Admiralty office to inspect the timber sent thence for shipbuilding, and in consequence of his visit dictated and sent off several decrees, inspected the Government offices, and immediately noticed the disappearance of an important record book; examined carefully and with much interest a thriving cloth factory belonging to a merchant of the town, and straightway made over to him the Government factory, which he had found in bad condition; visited the monasteries and churches, and especially the Tartar quarter, where he conversed freely with the inhabitants. Kazán, in spite of the years it had been annexed to Russia, was still in many respects the capital of the old Tartar kingdom. It controlled the approaches to Siberia and Central Asia, and up to 1719, when Volýnsky was appointed Governor of Astrakhán, the province of Kazán included the whole south-east of Russia as far as the Caspian and the Caucasus. So remote in those times from St. Petersburg, the Governor of Kazán was almost independent, and it is no wonder that the record book of decrees issued by the Governor should be missing. Here is an example of what governors might sometimes do. Count Peter Apráxin was obliged in 1711 to take the command of an expedition against the Tartars of Kubán. When he got to Tsarítsyn, being in perplexity whom he should leave behind him in Kazán, he suddenly thought of his infant son, four months old, and immediately sent an order to Kazán appointing him his substitute, and on account of his youth entrusting the government to his old and faithful private servants. This decree was read at a public assembly of the inhabitants of Kazán in the presence of the infant son sweetly sleeping under a blanket. When Apráxin returned to Kazán he ordered his son to be brought into the audience hall, and thanked him for his ser-

vices, when the baby began to cry. Thereupon Apráxin said: 'See what a wise child I have. He is so glad to see me that he weeps with joy.' At this the people exclaimed: 'Everything, lord, rests with thee,' and Apráxin replied: 'Yes, on whom could matters depend except on us Apráxins?'

After leaving Kazán, when after a busy day he managed to see Yevréinof, one of the explorers he had sent to Kamschátka, hear his account of his journey, and see his map of the Kurile Islands, which still did not settle the question of the straits separating Asia from America, Peter visited with great curiosity the ruins of the ancient town of Bolgar, the capital of the old Bulgarian kingdom on the Volga, where at that time there were ruins of over fifty stone buildings with an old castle on the hill. He ordered the ruins to be surveyed, the various inscriptions to be copied, and a guard to be placed there to prevent their destruction. At Sarátof he received Ayúka, the Khan of the Kalmuks, then eighty-three years old. The Khan's wife and daughter, accompanied by a suite of Kalmuk women, were suitably entertained by the Empress.

A month was spent at Astrakhán in further preparations for the campaign, during which Peter had opportunities for studying and generally approving Volýnsky's methods of administration, for seeing whether the German and Hungarian vines he had sent grew well on the banks of the Volga, and for communicating with the princes of Georgia. A proclamation was drawn up by Prince Cantemir in Persian, Tartar, and Turkish, to the effect that the Russians had come as friends of the Shah, to aid him against the rebels who had attacked Shemaha, and especially promising protection to the subjects of the Porte. The forces of the expedition amounted to 22,000 infantry, 9,000 cavalry, 20,000 Cossacks, and as many Kalmuks, 30,000 Tartars, and 5,000 sailors. While the cavalry was sent overland to Derbent, the Emperor with the infantry embarked at Astrakhán on July 29. Navigation was slow on the rough Caspian; a week was consumed in sailing two hundred miles, and it was only on August 7, the anniversary of the victory of Hangö Udd, that the troops landed on the shore of the little bay of Agrakhan. Peter went first to land, carried on a board by four sailors, the water being too shallow for the

boats to come close to the shore. A small fortified camp was built, and news was received that the brigadier Veterani, who had been sent to occupy Endery, had been attacked in a defile with considerable loss, but that the place had finally been carried.

Peter still had his love for practical jokes, and ordered that every one of his suite who had not previously been on the Caspian Sea should bathe in it. He himself was let down into the water three times on a board, and laughed heartily at the misadventures and fears of the rest. The delicate duty of looking after this operation—for many of the older men were unable to swim—he imposed upon Soïmónof, a young naval officer related to the Golófkins and Naryshkins, who had studied abroad, had made several cruises with Peter, had surveyed and mapped the Caspian, and on account of his activity and intelligence had been appointed captain of the boat on which the Emperor descended the Volga. On preparing to cross the Sulak and march to Derbent, there was a question of how to dispose of the transports, some of which had been injured, and Peter suggested sinking them. Soïmónof, who knew the coast, said there was a place near by where they could be kept until their return. 'How far?' said Peter. 'About two miles,' was the reply. 'Very well,' continued the Emperor, 'prepare a sloop and crew and I will go there with you and look at it,' and after many difficulties measured himself the depth of the water and explored the spot in all its details. On the return one of the officers said, 'Our trouble was not in vain, for we have found a place where the boats will be safe.' 'Everything is obtained by pains,' replied Peter. 'Even India was not easily found after the long journey round the Cape of Good Hope.' To this Soïmónof said that Russia had a much nearer road to India, and explained the water system of Siberia, how easily and with how little land-carriage goods could be sent from Russia to the Pacific, and then by ships to India. Peter replied: 'It is a long distance and of no use yet awhile.' Then pointing to the mountains along the shore of the Caspian, said: 'Have you ever been in the Gulf of Astrabad? You must know then that those mountains extend to Astrabad, and that from there to Balkh and Badakshan with pack camels is only a twelve days'

journey, and *on that road to India no one can interfere with us.*'[1]

After waiting for the cavalry, which had suffered much in its march across the steppes, Peter moved southward along the coast, between the mountains and the sea, and met from time to time by the petty princes of the neighbourhood. At Tarku he was received with every demonstration of welcome by the Shamkhal Abdul-Ghirei, who even invited the Emperor into his harem, where the Prince's two wives and many other women kissed his feet and then his hand. Refreshments were served in Eastern style, and Peter was struck with the many beautifully-worked dishes of precious metal, and on inquiry found that they came from the Persian town of Meshed. On departure the host, as customary in the East, offered the Emperor a fine grey horse with gilt and jewelled trappings. Subsequently both wives of Abdul-Ghirei visited the Empress, bringing her a present of grapes. On the Festival of the Assumption Peter and Catherine heard service in a chapel erected for the purpose by the Preobrazhénsky regiment, after which Peter himself measured the place where the chapel had stood and placed a stone there—an example followed by the Empress and all who were present—and in this way a pyramid was quickly raised in remembrance of the Russian mass at Tarku. The heat was so great that Peter had his head shaved, and a wig made of the hair, which he wore in the cool of the evening. During the day he covered himself with a broad-brimmed hat. Catherine followed his example, but found herself more comfortable in a fur cap. Among the mountain princes there was at least one recalcitrant—the Sultan of Utemysh, who, though he had replied to Volýnsky's proposals, did not now present himself, and when three Cossacks were sent with a letter to him he murdered

[1] Soïmónof had the fate which met so many intelligent and patriotic Russians in the next epoch. After rising to be Vice-Admiral and Commissary-General and Vice-President of the Navy Board, he was in 1740 implicated in the fall of Volýnsky, tortured, knouted, degraded, and sent to Okhotsk as a labourer in the salt works. Two years after, Elizabeth returned him his sword, but not his rank, and he devoted himself for seventeen years to the exploration of Siberia, when his valuable services were rewarded by the Governorship of Siberia. In 1763 he was made Senator, and died in 1780 at the age of ninety-nine.

them and attacked the Russian troops. After a sharp struggle he was defeated and his village burned. The Russians were surprised at the methods of warfare used in this their first experience in the long struggle for the subjugation of the Caucasus. 'It is very astonishing how these barbarians fight. When they are together they do not hold at all but run away, while separately each man resists so desperately that when he has thrown away his musket as if he were going to surrender he begins to fight with his dagger.' There was no opposition at Derbent, for the town was destitute of troops, the Governor appointed by the Shah had gone to Persia for help, and on September 3, the Naib, who had previously been in negotiation with the Russians, came out to meet the Emperor, fell on his knees, and presented him with two silver keys of the castle gates. Derbent was of importance from its strong and commanding situation, for as it was built in the narrowest passage between the mountains and the sea, the road passed through it. Hence came its name in the East—'the Iron Gates.' Its possession conferred no slight prestige, for tradition ascribed its foundation to Alexander the Great.

The refusal of the authorities at Baku to accept a Russian garrison, the affair at Utemysh, the non-arrival of the transport fleet, which owing to disasters had put in at Agrakhan, the small supplies on hand or obtainable, convinced Peter that any further advance was foolhardy. A council of war was held, and after leaving a garrison at Derbent, and giving the Naib the nominal rank of a Russian major-general, the retreat was begun with the greatest precaution against attacks. On the river Sulak the Emperor established a new fortress, called Fort Holy Cross, which he thought would protect the Russian frontiers better than the former fort on the Terek, which was in an unsuitable position. After visiting some mineral waters on the Terek, Peter sailed back to Astrakhán, where he arrived on October 15. Apráxin, who followed him, met with a frightful storm lasting four days, and was nearly shipwrecked.

While attending to the welfare of his troops, putting them into comfortable quarters, and looking after the sick—for the extreme heat, and especially the abundance of fruit and melons, had caused much disease—Peter was himself prostrated by a

severe attack of illness, an appearance of the difficulty which subsequently proved fatal. It was not, too, without regret that he had seen himself obliged to abandon a plan which seems to have taken strong hold on his mind. He had intended, after occupying Baku, to found at the mouth of the river Kura a great commercial city, which would serve as a meeting place for the trade of India, Persia, and the Caucasus. He had then wished to go up the Kura to Tiflis, assure himself of the allegiance of its ruler Vakhtan, re-establish Christianity in Georgia, and then cross the mountains to the Terek. Meanwhile he sent Colonel Shipof with a small expedition against Resht, at the southern end of the Caspian, and on November 24 started himself for Moscow, which he entered in triumph on December 25, welcomed, as usual, with a congratulatory address by the Archbishop Theophan Prokópovitch, and flattering inscriptions which spoke of a mightier than Alexander. His return had not been without difficulty, for his boats got frozen in on the Volga, a hundred miles below Tsarítsyn; he had trouble in getting ashore and finding sledges in which to continue his journey.

Resht was occupied by Colonel Shipof, without difficulty, late in the autumn of 1722, but the attitude of the population was by no means satisfactory, and in March, after Shipof had found it advisable to fortify the caravanserai in which his troops were quartered, the governor, who had collected some fifteen thousand men, endeavoured to induce him to go back to Russia, on the ground that there was now a sufficient force to protect the town against rebels without Persian aid. Shipof made excuses, finally led out his little force by night, and successfully attacked the Persians, who far surpassed him in numbers. In a similar way a hundred Russians defended against five thousand men the three vessels which were still left to them. Meanwhile negotiations were going on with the Persian Government. Even in July (1722) Peter had sent to the Consul Abrámof the points which he wished to propose to the Shah; namely, that the Russians should occupy Shemaha and other towns, to protect them against the enemies of the Persians and especially the Turks, and that they should assist them against all their enemies, but that in return for their

services they must have the provinces on the Caspian. Abrámof began his negotiations with Tahmasp, who was then at Kasbin, but thought it best to say nothing about the compensation, and persuaded the Persians to send an ambassador to St. Petersburg to negotiate there. He prophesied at the same time the entire ruin of Persia, as the Afghans were advancing without opposition, the Kurds were devastating the neighbourhood of Tabriz, and Tahmasp was unable to get together more than four hundred men.

General Matiúshkin occupied Baku in the course of the next summer, which was deemed of such importance that he was at once promoted to be a lieutenant-general. At the end of September Peter wrote to him: 'I congratulate you on all the provinces lying on the coast of the Caspian, since the Persian ambassador has ceded them all.' This treaty with Persia forced upon Ismail Bek, the ambassador sent by Tahmasp on Abrámof's representations, was signed at St. Petersburg on September 23, 1723, by which in return for aid to be rendered to Tahmasp and the recovery for him of the Persian throne, he agreed to give up Derbent, Baku, as well as the three provinces of Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabad. Six months later Peter sent Matiúshkin orders to explore in several directions, to find out the communications with countries lying beyond, especially the water communications in the Caucasus, to obtain information about sugar, madder, copper, naphtha, and the other productions of the country, to use all means to induce the Armenians and other Christians (if there be any) to settle in these provinces, and to drive out in a quiet way the Mohammedans, especially those of the Turkish sect.

It was, however, one thing to sign a treaty with Persia and another to get it ratified, and when Prince Borís Mestchérsky, with Abrámof as his secretary, was sent to Persia in 1724 for this purpose, he was not only badly received, but was compelled to return without accomplishing anything.

It was to be expected that Russian and Turkish interests would clash in the breaking up of Persia. While Peter was receiving petitions for help from the Armenians, the Georgians, and other Christian peoples, the Lesghians and the other Mohammedans of the mountains were asking the protection of

the Sultan. Such petitions were received with pleasure at Constantinople, and the Turks even put forward the pretensions that Persia as a Mohammedan, though an heretical country, belonged to Turkey. Neplúief, the Russian Resident, did his best to arrange an understanding with the Porte, by which both Russia and Turkey could be satisfied at the expense of Persia. The Marquis de Bonac, the French ambassador, acted as the friend of both sides (though without instructions[1]), and took a constant part in the negotiations. The Emperor fearing lest the Turks should be hostile and put his Minister in the Seven Towers, had entrusted the despatches for him to Campredon, who sent them to Bonac, and this was the pretext for interference. At the very beginning Bonac told Neplúief that if the Russians limited themselves to the Caspian provinces, and did not approach the Turkish boundaries on the side of Armenia and Georgia, the Porte would remain indifferent and would perhaps take something for itself. Neplúief replied that the Emperor did not wish to destroy the Persian monarchy, and would allow no one else to do so. To this Bonac remarked: 'People always say so at first. But I say, as a friend, that you can neither prevent the Turks nor the Turks you. You will do better not to come near the Turkish boundaries. Pursue your own aims and get possession of the Caspian provinces as soon as possible, but do not declare in writing to the Porte that you do not wish any conquests in Persia, because, whatever you may say now, circumstances may arise to-morrow which will force you to act quite differently.' At first Bonac seemed to be right, and the Turks showed every willingness to allow the Russians to occupy the shores of the Caspian, so long as they did not touch Imeritia and Georgia or come near the Black Sea, but the Polish Internuncio endeavoured to excite their suspicions, and then the English minister interfered, Turkish troops were ordered to occupy Georgia, artillery and

[1] The Marquis de Bonac was never asked for his full powers, and received instructions (fortunately for him, approving his conduct) only when the treaty was ready to be signed. He was at one time left eighteen months without replies to his despatches. There was a belief that Cardinal Dubois sometimes cleared off his correspondence by burning all the letters on his table.—Comte de St. Priest, *Mémoires sur l'Ambassade de France en Turquie*, pp. 122, 256.

ammunition were sent to Azof and Erzerum, and matters looked so threatening that Neplúief sent his son to Holland, partly to get him out of the way and partly for the sake of his education, and destroyed all his correspondence that was not written in cipher. Indeed, in November, 1722, the Grand Vizier told Neplúief that he had been ordered to write to the Emperor to evacuate Persian territory, on the ground that it disturbed the neighbouring nations and was especially displeasing to the Turks. The Porte took the side of the Afghans against the Persians, and even entered into relations with the Khan of Khiva against the Russians. When it was ascertained that the Emperor had returned from Derbent, Turkish suspicions were for the moment put at rest, although the opportunity was seized by the Porte for strengthening itself still more in the Caucasus. Neplúief now received instructions to try to come to some understanding with the Porte with regard to Persia, but in February, 1723, the Grand Vizier declared that there was no reason for an understanding, that the Afghans had occupied the whole of Persia and were under the protection of the Porte, that all the Mohammedan nations in the Caucasus had become subjects of Turkey, that as to any satisfaction demanded for the attack on the Russian merchants in Shemaha, the Russians had received that by their march to Derbent, and ended by saying: 'Every one would like to increase his possessions, but the balance of power in this world does not allow it. For instance, we should like to send an army against Italy and other weak countries, but the other rulers do not allow it. In the same way we are now looking after Persia.' A few days afterwards the interpreter of the Porte came to Neplúief and stated to him that if the Russians had any claims against the Lesghians or the Afghans they should apply to the Porte, as Persia was now subject to Turkey; that the Emperor of Russia must immediately withdraw his troops from Persian possessions, and that if he did not the Porte would be obliged to make war upon him. He said at the same time, under cover of secrecy, that the English ambassador had just handed in a long memorial written in Turkish accusing the Russians of having collected a large army for the purpose of occupying Daghestan and the shores of the Black Sea, and advising the Porte to fight, as

Russia was now very weak, being at enmity with all the countries of Europe. Neplúief again sought the advice of the French ambassador, who then regarded matters as very serious, and said: 'Report to your Court the whole business in two words, "Keep peace with Turkey and do not meddle with Persian affairs, or continue the war in Persian dominions and quarrel with Turkey."' Although Bonac spoke too decisively as it turned out, for the Porte did not much wish to go to war, Neplúief showed his gratitude by two sable furs worth 1,300 rubles.

Peter was not to be turned from his purpose, and immediately made preparations for war. Prince Michael Golítsyn was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the Ukraine, troops were ordered to be in readiness, Cossacks were got together, and on April 20 he wrote to Neplúief: 'Our interests do not allow any other power, whoever it may be, to establish itself on the Caspian, and as concerns Derbent and other places in which we now have garrisons, they have never been in the possession of the Persian rebels, of the Lesghians, or of Mir Weis, and, as can be easily shown, came of their own accord under our protection; and if the Porte, contrary to the eternal peace, is going to take under its protection the Lesghians, our well-known enemies, it ought to be less disagreeable to the Porte if we take under our protection people who have never had any relation whatever with the Porte, and are a long way off from it on the very shores of the Caspian, to which we cannot allow any other power to come.' Amidst this talk of war Peter was interested in a commercial question. He had heard that Italy, which had formerly been supplied from Russia, had received large quantities of caviar from Constantinople, and he asked Neplúief whence this caviar came, whether it was prepared in Turkey or sent there by Russian merchants, and if so from what place and in what quantities?

The English minister still continued to insinuate to the Porte that a war with Russia was not dangerous, as a rebellion would at once break out in the Empire, and entered into relations with Orlik, the old Cossack Hetman, who had returned from Sweden, whither he had gone with Charles XII., and was now living at Salonica. The Turks expressed great astonishment

that the Emperor should have concluded a treaty with an unknown person assuming to be the Shah of Persia, when it was well known that there was now no sovereign in that country, and that consequently Persia naturally fell under the dominion of the Porte. What profit could there be to Russia from a treaty with Tahmasp, who had been obliged to run away to Mount Ararat, and live there like a wild man? Soon all Persia would be conquered by the Turks, and as all the people there naturally objected to the Russians, because since the oldest time no Christian foot had trodden Persia, by this very treaty the peace between Russia and the Porte was broken. In January, 1724, the interpreter of the Porte came to Neplúief and wished to know if Russia accepted the Turkish conditions, as otherwise war would be declared, and he must choose one of three things—to return to Russia, to go with the Grand Vizier on the campaign, or to remain a private man at Constantinople, for he could no longer be recognised as Minister; that it was unusual in such cases to leave a Minister at liberty, but still an exception would be made in his favor on account of his previous good conduct. Neplúief chose to return to Russia, and immediately sent for his passports; but they were not given, and through the intervention of Bonac, who said that he had information from St. Petersburg that Russia would not first begin a war, the Sultan resolved not to declare war against Russia but only to prepare for one. It was finally arranged that Bonac should send his nephew to St. Petersburg to communicate with Campredon, and get the exact views of the Emperor. Meanwhile England continued to insinuate that Russia desired to obtain possession not only of the Persian but also of the whole Eastern trade, in consequence of which goods which had formerly been sent to Europe through the Turkish dominions would henceforth go by way of Russia, and that then the English and other Europeans would leave Turkey, to the great detriment of that country. Bonac's nephew returned in May, 1724, and after the treaty had been revised some ten times, it was finally signed at the end of June. By this Shemaha was left in the possession of Daud Bek, as a vassal of the Porte, while the northern provinces adjoining the Caspian were given over to Russia. The Emperor promised to use his influence with the

Shah Tahmasp to cede to Turkey the provinces on the Black Sea occupied by Turkish troops, and if unsuccessful to unite with Turkey against Persia. Rumiántsof was sent as envoy extraordinary to Constantinople with the ratifications, and with instructions at the same time to settle the boundaries of the ceded provinces. After his departure Peter sent him a rescript —the last instructions which he wrote on Eastern affairs—with regard to the Armenians and the permission given to them to settle in the Caspian provinces. 'If the Turks say anything about this, reply that we have not invited the Armenians, but that they, on account of the unity of belief, had begged us to take them under our protection. For the sake of Christianity it is impossible for us to refuse this to the Armenians, who are Christians. As the Vizier himself has often said, it is impossible to refuse protection to those of the same faith who ask it.'

Thus everything seemed well arranged. But to judge of the correctness, profit, or success of Peter's policy, we must take into account subsequent events. The Persians absolutely refused to ratify the treaty with Russia, or to consent to any partition, and continued the war both with Russia and Turkey. Finally, in 1732, the Empress Anne concluded a treaty at Resht, restoring to Persia all the conquered provinces. General Manstein,[1] writing a few years later, says: 'The Court, who would have long before been highly pleased with any good pretence for getting rid with honour of those provinces which Peter I. had conquered from Persia, and of which the keeping cost more than they were worth (a prodigious number of people having perished in them), an expedient was at length found. A negotiation was entered upon for this purpose with the Court of Ispahan, and the provinces were ceded to it, in consideration of several advantages granted to commerce.

'Russia had been obliged to keep near thirty thousand men in garrison in those provinces, and not a year passed without its being necessary to recruit the deficiency of above one half, as the Russians, not being able to endure the climate, died like flies there. It was reckoned that from the year 1722, in which

[1] *Memoirs of Russia*, p. 58. London, 1770.

Peter I. had entered that country, to the time that the Russians evacuated it, there had perished a hundred and thirty thousand men in it.'[1]

[1] Golikóf, v., vi., vii., ix.; Soloviéf, xiv., xviii.; *Materials of the Archives of the Staff*, St. Petersburg, 1871; *Collection* of Prince Hilkof, St. Petersburg, 1879; Hammer, xiv.; Herrmann. K.E.V. Baer, *Aeter's des Grossen Verdienshe um die Erweiterung der Geographeschen Kenntrisse*, St. Petersburg, 1872.

LXXVIII.

THE LAST YEARS.—1723–1725.

The only interruption to the gaiety at Moscow was the almost sudden arrival of the Emperor in December, 1722. It had not been thought that he could come so quickly. Not but that the gaiety went on after his arrival, but for a moment it gave place to apprehension. The quarrels between the high officers of State had reached a pass not before known. Even Yaguzhínsky had controlled them with difficulty—Yagushínsky whom before his departure the Emperor had created Procurator-General, and of whom he had said to the Senate: 'Here is my eye, by whom I shall see everything. He knows my intentions and wishes. Do what he approves, even though it seems to you that he acts contrary to my interests and those of the State. Yet do as he says; then after you have informed me of it wait for my decision.' During the Emperor's absence the Senate and colleges had been moved to Moscow, and when Yaguzhínsky had been obliged to return for a while to St. Petersburg, as he had foreseen, the quarrel of which we have before spoken broke out between Shafírof, Menshikóf, and Písaref.[1] These and similar disputes made all sides more than usually fearful of the Emperor's return, and scarcely one in his heart really welcomed him back, except the Tsaritsa Prascovia and the Duchess of Mecklenburg. 'The Emperor has now learnt from experience,' writes Mardefeld, 'that the creation of colleges and the prohibition of making complaints to him personally are a bad resource for the oppressed and poor. There are over sixteen thousand unfinished cases in the Senate, partly because in the provinces there are none but thieves and petty tyrants, partly because the empire is too great, and especially because it

[1] See p. 364.

is not good to hunt with unwilling dogs, and the magnates would much rather do nothing than sit in those colleges.' Even the palace servants had neglected to get in wood and stores at Preobrazhénsky, and the inspectors of the new buildings had let the summer pass without doing anything, feeling sure that the Emperor would not return for a long time yet. The investigation of the disputes in the Senate, with the subsequent punishment of Shafírof, was the first subject to occupy Peter's attention. After that came the further accusations of dishonesty against Menshikóf, the torturing of a State prisoner by the Tsaritsa Prascovia, and many lesser matters. It was deemed best to remove Menshikóf from his office as President of the College of War, but while this was viewed by most as preliminary to his disgrace, the blow was greatly softened to him by appearing to be the consequence of a decree of the previous year, which limited the term of service of the President to five years. Prince Repnín was subsequently appointed in his place.

The long stay of the Ministers and other foreigners at Moscow enabled them to make a closer acquaintance with the ways in which crime was judged and punished in Russia. Young Ramodanófsky, who had succeeded to the place of his father, both as Prince Cæsar and Supreme Criminal Judge, was no milder or less summary. Executions were public, and often interesting in their very repulsiveness. The Russian peasant was so wretched that death was hardly worse to him than life, and he showed at times a remarkable stoicism. In October, 1722, for instance, three murderers and counterfeiters were broken on the wheel. They received but one blow on each arm and leg; their arms were broken and their legs were crushed, but they still remained alive, and were bound face downwards to the wheels, which were placed horizontally on stout pillars. One, an old man, who had been worn out by previous torture, died a few hours afterwards, but the other two, sturdy youths, lived a long time. They indifferently and even merrily looked about, uttering neither groans nor complaints, nor showing any signs of suffering. One of them, to the astonishment of the spectators, with great difficulty raised his broken arm, wiped his nose on the cuff of his sleeve, and then, noticing that a few drops of blood had fallen on the wheel, again, with immense

effort, raised up his arm and rubbed clean the instrument of torture. Another man, who had been hung to a hook by the ribs, succeeded the night afterwards in raising himself up on the rope and taking out the hook. He fell to the ground, crawled for some hundred paces on all-fours, and concealed himself, but was found and hanged again in the same way.

In the midst of such punishments and of the daily tortures and examinations at Preobrazhénsky on charges of treason, there was no cessation of social gaiety. During the holidays the Emperor with the Prince Pope, the Drunken Synod, and a procession of maskers, went about from house to house with songs and congratulations. The New Year was celebrated with the accustomed pomp, the river Moskvá was blessed amid the salutes of cannon on the Epiphany, the assemblies continued three times a week, there were representations at the theatre, until owing to some carelessness the hospital in which it was held was burnt down, and during the Carnival there was a great masked procession like that of the year before. In this there were more than sixty sledges, representing ships and boats from a frigate to a shallop. First came the car of Bacchus, very well and naturally represented, as his votary had been kept drunk for three days and nights previously. He was followed by one of the Court fools, dressed as a bear, and drawn by six bear cubs. Then came a sledge drawn by four hogs, then a Circassian drawn by ten dogs. After that came the College of Cardinals in full pontifical robes, venerable on account of their years, but mounted on oxen; then the great car of the Prince Pope, who sat on a throne surrounded by his archbishops and priests, giving his blessing right and left, and attended by Silenus astride of a cask. The Prince Cæsar, as the representative of the Emperor, followed with his royal crown, accompanied by two bears. Then came Neptune with Tritons, and finally a great two-decked frigate of thirty-two guns, eight of which were really bronze, with three masts, under full sail, about thirty feet in length. The Emperor, dressed as a sailor, acted as captain to fifteen active and skilled sailor boys, and from time to time manœuvred the sails according to the wind. Then a sea-serpent, a hundred feet long, the tail being made of twenty-four little sledges fastened together so as to twist about. Next a great

gilded barge with the Empress as a Frisian peasant woman, with all her Court as negroes; then Menshikóf as an abbot with his suite, the Princess Menshikóf with a band of Spanish girls, an armed frigate with the Grand Admiral dressed as the Burgomaster of Hamburg, the shallop of the Duke of Holstein, Germans, Poles, Chinese, Persians, Circassians, Siberians, Lutheran pastors, priests, pilgrims, the foreign ministers in blue dominoes with all their servants on horseback in the same dress, and the Prince of Moldavia apparelled as a Turk. The next day the Empress appeared as an amazon with her Court as sailors. In all there were more than a thousand masks. From time to time refreshments were offered, but no one was obliged to drink against his will; on the other hand the maskers were sometimes nearly frozen.

'The masquerade is at the door, and the talk is only about amusements at a time when the common people have tears in their eyes,' writes Lefort. 'We are on the eve of some sad extremity. The misery increases from day to day, the streets are full of people who try to sell their children. Orders have been published to give nothing to beggars. What will they become but highway robbers? Night thieves show themselves here, and they publicly attack people on the Petersburg road. There is not a reserve storehouse in all Russia. Grain has been bought from Prussia and Danzig for two hundred thousand rubles, but what is that for this vast country? In Astrakhán there are already provisions for more than a year for an army of eighty thousand men.' During this and the following year, owing to the failure of the harvests, the destitution in Russia was very great, and the Government strained every nerve to meet the emergency. Mardefeld wrote at the end of April that the 'grain stores are already so arranged that in case there is no general bad harvest there will be no fear of famine. Discontent, however, in all ranks could not well be greater than it is now. But as a chief is lacking, and as in this humbled nation, so accustomed to slavery, fear is so great, I cannot believe that in this Emperor's lifetime anything can break out, although this Government is very similar to that of the Tsar Ivan the Terrible; except that then the clergy were esteemed and benefited, whereas by this Government they are

fully brought under the yoke, yet they must be regarded as a dangerous fire hidden under the ashes.' A month later he adds, in speaking of the condition of the army, that the financial resources had been entirely exhausted by the 'despotic power which allows no one to possess anything which he can call his own. With this power the whole city of St. Petersburg has been built, as well as the immense and vast ship canals and harbours. But if his Majesty should give this up for a little, as well as the useless annual equipment of the fleet, he would not lack money. The badly directed Persian campaign, and the money which has to be expended every year to appease the Ottoman Porte, are two of the greatest causes of the lack of funds. This can be considered a steady truth, that so long as affairs remain as they are the Court will hold it as a chief maxim to mix in no affairs which can have the least consequences.' Lefort writes later again still more plainly: 'The army and navy chests have been exhausted in useless expenditure, such as building the port of Rogerwyk, the canals of Ladoga, Cronstadt, and three others. Not only does the master ruin himself, but he is obliging his subjects to do the same. The houses of Vasili-Ostrof have to be ready this year; if not, confiscation of goods and lands. Notwithstanding all this the Government pays neither the troops, nor the navy, nor the colleges, nor anybody. Everybody cries misery. The inhabitants of Moscow are forced to establish themselves at St. Petersburg, which is not done without great expense. And yet it is not certain but that they may return to Moscow.'

Peter left Moscow for St. Petersburg at the beginning of March. Before going he treated his friends to a new and somewhat original exhibition of fireworks, in addition to those which they had witnessed during the winter. With his own hands he set fire to his old wooden villa at Preobrazhénsky. Chemicals of various kinds had been lavishly distributed, so that many coloured fires for some time showed the architecture with a theatrical effect. When these had gone out and the blackened beams were but too visible, he said, turning to the Duke of Holstein: 'This is an image of war: brilliant victories, after which destruction follows. But with this house, in which my first plans against Sweden were worked out, may every

thought disappear which can at any time arm my hand against that kingdom, and may it always be the most faithful ally of my empire!' Peter had already begun to build a new palace at Moscow, on ground bought from the children of Admiral Golovín.

During the spring Peter pursued his usual occupations and amusements in St. Petersburg and the suburbs. He stayed for some time at Peterhof, where he drank for a while a prepared mineral water, and took all kinds of exercise, even to mowing grass and long walks with a knapsack on his back. The Prussian Resident complained that for some weeks the Ministers had not been able to consult with him. 'The Emperor was so occupied with his villas and with sailing on the gulf, that none had the heart to interrupt him.' In June the whole Court accompanied him for some weeks by sea to Reval and Riga. Even the old Tsaritsa Prascovia, in spite of her dropsical gout, felt it her duty to make the voyage, though she suffered very greatly. The return was so arranged as to meet at Cronstadt the little boat in which Peter had taken his first lessons in navigation on the Yaúza, which was then conducted to St. Petersburg with great ceremony. The feast lasted ten hours, at which every one was obliged to be present. The Emperor seemed especially disposed to drink, several times said that the man who did not get drunk on that day would be a good-for-nothing fellow; the result was a scene the like of which no foreigner could recall during his stay in Russia. Even the ladies, the Empress, the Duchess of Mecklenburg, and the other members of the Imperial family were obliged to remain. After a good number of glasses, Peter became very affectionate. He constantly kissed his dear Duke of Holstein, who had distinguished himself by the amount of his potations, took off his wig, kissed him on the top of his head, on the back of his neck, on his forehead, and on his lips. The same sentimental feeling swayed many distinguished personages. They wept, embraced, and kissed, and soon passed to quarrels and blows. Even the Duchess of Mecklenburg took more than was good for her, and the little Princesses Anne and Elizabeth, with surprising politeness, passed round the glasses of strong Hungarian wine, and with inimitable grace drank the heel-taps. Who knows but

what this was the beginning of that unfortunate habit of strong drink which brought the Empress Elizabeth to an untimely end?

Soon after there was a public masquerade, lasting a week, in commemoration of the peace of Nystad, at which all the Court were obliged to give their written promise to appear. Peter dressed sometimes as a Catholic cardinal, sometimes as a Protestant clergyman, having borrowed at least his collar from the Lutheran pastor; sometimes as a sailor or a drummer, and he was able to ply his drum-sticks in a way to excite envy. His sister-in-law, Prascovia, died not long after, for whom he grieved sincerely, and whom he buried with all the honours due to a Tsaritsa, but with just a shade of distinction from the ceremonial needed for an Empress. During the autumn he made a visit to the Ladoga canal, now making great progress under the skilful management of Münnich, and during the winter went again to the waters of Olonetz, where as usual he filled up the heavy hours of leisure by practising on the turning lathe, and by hammering sheets of iron. Then he went to Moscow for the coronation of Catherine.

In the early part of 1722 (February 16), before leaving for the Persian campaign, the Emperor had issued a decree with regard to the succession, abolishing as autocrat the previous rule of hereditary succession, and proclaiming that every Emperor should choose his immediate successor as he thought best. A special oath to carry out this decree was imposed on all officials and subjects in general. The Emperor thus passed over the claims of his little grandson Peter. There can be no question but what he was somewhat inclined to leave the throne to one of his daughters—although on account partly of the divorce of Eudoxia and the irregular marriage with Catherine, there were doubts about their legitimacy—or at all events to the husband of one of them. But at times his thoughts ranged between his grandson and his wife. In any case he thought it best to make such a disposition that, should he die suddenly without coming to a decision, Catherine should succeed him without question. She was called Empress by courtesy as wife of the Emperor, but had never been crowned, a ceremony, indeed, unusual in Russia for the wife of the Tsar, and which had only been prac-

tised in the case of Maria Mnishek, the wife of the so-called false Demetrius. A decree was issued in November, 1723, authorising preparations for Catherine's coronation, recounting all her services to him and to the State, laying especial stress on what she had done during the campaign on the Pruth (for which he had already founded the Order of St. Catherine), and citing precedents from the history of the Byzantine Empire. The coronation took place on May 18, 1724, in the Cathedral of the Assumption at Moscow. The ceremony was conducted by the Metropolitan of Nóvgorod, and Theophán Prokópovitch, Bishop of Pskof, preached the sermon, but Peter himself placed the crown on the head of his wife, while keeping the sceptre in his own hand. Feasts, masquerades, and balls, together with popular festivities, lasted for days, and as if to show that he had prepared for Catherine a power equal to his own, he allowed her to create Peter Tolstói a Count. Yaguzhínsky was at the same time made a Cavalier of the Order of St. Andrew, and many promotions were made among the officers and officials. In several cases punishments were lightened, as in that of Prince Basil Dolgorúky, but the Empress asked in vain for the pardon of Shafírof, who was dragging out a miserable existence at Nóvgorod.

Bassewitz says that the night before the coronation, Peter with several Senators visited an English merchant, where he found a number of High Church dignitaries, including the Archbishops of Nóvgorod and Pskof, and the Chancellor Golófkin. After conversation had grown warm, the Emperor said that the ceremony the following day was more important than they might think, for he was crowning Catherine in order to give her the right to rule the State. It was evident that he said this to draw out an opinion, but all bore themselves with so much tact, that he felt sure that no one would oppose his intentions.

On returning to St. Petersburg, Peter showed, as several times of late, a strange disinclination to public business. Mardefeld writes to Frederick William: 'No expressions are strong enough to give your Majesty a just idea of the unendurable negligence and confusion with which the most important affairs are treated here, so that neither foreign envoys nor Russian

ministers know where to turn. The answers which we get from the Russian ministers are only sighs, and they confess themselves in despair about the difficulties that they have with regard to every proposition. This is no feint, but the real truth. Here nothing is considered important until it stands on the edge of the precipice.'

Nevertheless it is now necessary to say a few words about the relations of Russia to foreign powers, since Peter by the peace of Nystad and his proclamation as Emperor, had arrived at the height of his power.

The Armenians were not the only Christians whom Russia felt called upon to protect. There were in the Russian provinces of Poland men of Russian blood, who still adhered to the Orthodox Church, and did not join the Uniates. They were now asking for aid and sympathy on the ground that the Catholic clergy and nobles were oppressing them, seizing their churches and property, and forcing them to become either Uniates or Catholics. Prince Tchetvertínsky, known in the Church as Sylvester, Bishop of White Russia, came to Moscow with these complaints, and Peter wrote to the King that the only way to put an end to these difficulties was to appoint a commission to investigate these infringements of the privileges granted by the treaty of 1686. 'If, contrary to our expectations, satisfaction on this our representation and request according to the treaty is not granted, we shall be obliged to seek it ourselves.' The Protestants in Poland, who were also oppressed, had applied to Prussia, and the King of Prussia had in turn requested the friendly aid of Russia. The King agreed to the commission, but wrote that the complaints of the monks at Pinsk had been listened to, and that the churches and monasteries taken from them had been restored, in spite of the strong opposition of the Catholic clergy. The question of the Dissidents naturally led to communications with Rome, and Pope Clement XI. said that he had given the various orders of monks strict injunctions not to interfere in state or civil affairs, and that if they were allowed to live freely in Russia, he would recognise the Imperial title, and endeavour to arrange matters in Poland. His death put an end for a while to the negotiations, and his successor, before doing anything, desired more accurate informa-

tion, as different representations had been received from Warsaw. There were other questions with Poland besides that of the Russian clergy. The Russians were desirous of having the Imperial title recognised, to which the Poles objected, lest under the designation of Emperor of All the Russias, claims might be made to the Russian provinces belonging to Poland. Then there was the struggle on the part of the King to have his son selected as his successor, and make Poland an hereditary monarchy. To this the Russians were opposed, as it would not allow constant interference on their part. Their power to interfere was so great that two successive Diets were broken up through Russian intrigues. It was only necessary to purchase two or three members to render a Diet ineffective. After the Diet of 1722 had adjourned, Count Flemming told Prince Sergius Dolgorúky, the son of Gregory, the former Minister, of a report that he had received three thousand ducats from the Prussian minister Schwerin for bribery. Dolgorúky indignantly replied: 'I have not asked for this money from Schwerin, and have not received it,' and wrote to the Emperor: 'I am very much astonished that the Prussian ministers residing at the Polish Court are unable to do anything secretly, for all their steps are known;' and in the accounts which he presented for his expenses at the Diet, it was shown that he had received only two thousand ducats from Schwerin, though he had spent two thousand five hundred and ninety, eight hundred being given to Dönhof, the Hetman of Lithuania, and the rest to the various delegates.

An important difference between the two Governments was about the question of Curland. This had been caused by the sudden and untimely death of the young Duke Frederick William in 1711, shortly after his marriage with the Princess Anne. The succession properly belonged to the uncle of Frederick William, Duke Ferdinand—the last representative of the Kettler family—but on the ground that the position of the widowed Duchess Anne had been regulated by the marriage contract, and owing to the necessities of the war, she continued to reside at Mitau, and Peter Bestúzhef, as Russian agent, carried on the Government in her name. There were here a number of conflicting interests: that of Peter, who wished to

exercise at all events the real if not the nominal sovereignty; that of the Duke Ferdinand, then living at Danzig, who wished to obtain his Duchy; that of the nobility of Curland, who had no desire to give up the property and pay the sums agreed upon in the late Duke's marriage contract; that of the King of Poland, who preferred to restore Ferdinand and declare the marriage contract null, on the ground of Frederick William being a minor when it was made, and thus destroy all claims of the Russians, or marry the Duchess Anne to some relation of his own; that of Poland, of which Curland was a fief, the magnates wishing no new Ducal House, but the division of the country into provinces and its subsequent out-and-out annexation to the Republic. Prussia, looking upon Curland as an outlying German province, and always eager to extend its territory, was desirous that Anne should marry the Margrave of Brandenburg-Schwedt, who had some vague, shadowy claims through his great-aunt, who was the Duke Ferdinand's mother, which only needed to be developed by an adroit Prussian lawyer to be of importance. To increase the claims of the Duchess, Bestúzhef persuaded his Government to redeem the lands of the late Duke which had been mortgaged to the nobility—a step which excited such strong feeling in Poland, that in 1724 the nobility of Curland were tried by the Tribunal of the Republic, ordered to restore the money which they had received, and fined in addition. The Emperor did his best at Warsaw to have this decree withdrawn. The results of all these cross-purposes were that Curland remained *de facto* a Russian dependency until its final annexation, and that numerous marriage treaties were signed, all of which ended in smoke, while Anne still stayed a widow, consoling herself, we have reason to believe, with the attentions of Bestúzhef, who, though he pleased the daughter, was on bad terms with her mother, Prascovia. When he ceased to please even the daughter, Biren became the favourite, and on Anne's accession as Empress was made Duke of Curland.

When General Lanczynski, then Russian minister at Vienna, informed the Emperor Charles VI. that the Tsar had assumed the Imperial title, he was listened to with attention, but the Emperor's reply was in such a low tone and spoken so quickly

as to be neither audible nor intelligible. It would appear that this was a habit of Charles when he wished to get over a difficulty, and it then became necessary to apply to the Vice-Chancellor for explanations. In this case the Vice-Chancellor excused himself on the ground of not having had time to talk with the Emperor, and a decision was postponed. In two letters sent at the end of the year the Emperor used the old title. There was a division of opinion at the Council. Some thought that it was better to take the lead in recognising the change of title, as the Holy Roman Emperor would always have precedence, and as the recognition would surely follow some day it was more politic to be first than last. Others thought that if the Tsar should be recognised as Emperor, the King of England would demand the same thing, as the English had long spoken of theirs as the Imperial crown. Uneasiness was felt at Vienna on account of the growing intimacy of Russia with France, and especially of the efforts of France to arrange the treaty with Turkey; and uneasiness was felt in the same way at St. Petersburg on account of the unfriendly feeling between Prussia and Austria, and there was anxiety too lest, on account of relationship and religion, the Court of Vienna should support the claims of the son of Augustus to the succession in Poland. The health of King Augustus was bad in these years, and it was the common opinion that the Polish crown might be vacant even in a few months. But the chief and the only real difficulty between the two Courts concerned the Duke of Mecklenburg. If, as the old adage said, Austria was happy in her marriages, Russia was certainly not happy in those which she had begun to contract in Germany. In May, 1723, Count Schönhorn said to Lanczynski that the Emperor, out of special respect and friendship for Russia, had borne as much as he could, and had shut his eyes to the disobedient acts of the Duke of Mecklenburg, but that he would bear them no longer. His Imperial conscience and duties made it necessary for him to put an end to this state of things. The Duke had left the Empire, had refused to take any notice of Imperial decrees, and had acted as a rebel. Nevertheless, the Emperor, after making the execution in Mecklenburg, had left him an income of a hundred thousand thalers, and, if he would appear before

the Court, would aid him in arranging everything for the best. With all his good dispositions the Emperor could not allow Mecklenburg to be totally ruined. Even now, instead of acting at once, he would, out of regard to the Tsar, send a rescript to the Duke and give him three months' time in which to appear and make his submission. But if during this time the Duke did not return he would be obliged to declare the throne vacant and appoint a Government. It turned out that the 'total ruin' of Mecklenburg meant that the Emperor had knowledge of an intention of the Elector of Hanover to establish himself in the country and finally to annex it. Peter tried in vain to influence the Duke; he could not even persuade him to visit Russia, where his wife had now been for more than a year. Still additional delays were granted, though Lanczynski evidently thought that the Duke was abusing the goodness of his protector in not submitting himself at once to the Imperial Court and making peace with his nobles. Matters dragged on, and the Duke was not finally declared to have forfeited his dominions until 1728.

The Prussian friendship continued firm in spite of efforts of King Augustus to bring Prussia into his alliance and detach her from Russia. A slight shade was thrown when Peter recalled some of the tall grenadiers that Frederick William had thought given and not simply lent to him. They were replaced by others, but, alas! the new men were a trifle shorter. The King could not forget it for a long time, and on one occasion Golófkin was warned not to discuss business with him as the wound in his heart was still too raw.

In Denmark there was a bitter feeling and a disinclination to recognise the Imperial title of the Tsar, unless Slesvig was guaranteed to Denmark, and the Duke of Holstein sent away from St. Petersburg. A demand that Russian ships should be free of the Sound dues was refused, as there must be one treatment for all, and this absurd toll on foreign vessels lasted for a century and a half longer. The Russian minister at Copenhagen complained of Hanoverian influence, which he attempted to overcome by a free distribution of money. The gold was taken readily enough, but had no effect. This influence kept the Danes alarmed about Russian armaments to restore the

Dukes of Holstein and Mecklenburg, until the Persian campaign relieved their fears; but the triumphant return, the peaceful arrangement with Turkey, and especially the Russian treaty of alliance with Sweden, threw them into despair. They vainly attempted to get up a counter alliance, and not only thought that Slesvig was lost, but feared even for Norway.

The relations of Russia to England were cool and almost hostile. There had been no diplomatic intercourse between the two countries since Bestúzhef had been sent away from London. Immediately after the treaty of Nystad, the Swedes proposed their good offices in reconciling King George with Russia, but were told that this business was now in the hands of the French. This matter was very closely bound up with another negotiation between Russia and France, for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to a French prince. This idea had been long ago suggested to Peter, and had fermented in his mind. He had even spoken about it to Campredon on his first journey to St. Petersburg, and immediately after his arrival from Nystad the subject was again broached. 'A friend has just told me,' wrote Campredon, November 8, 1721, 'that to put the Tsaritsa entirely in our interest it would be desirable to assure a marriage between the younger daughter of the Tsar, who is very amiable and has a pretty figure, and some French prince, who could easily and surely, through the power of the Tsar, be made King of Poland.' Some days after he wrote again to the same effect. The vacancy of the Polish throne seemed near at hand. France, who had always looked upon Poland as one of her allies against Austria, would, it was thought, readily accept the new combination, as Poland was now too weak to be of assistance, unless with Poland France should gain also the friendship and alliance of Russia. Peter, as we have seen, had been opposed to all the plans for the dismemberment of Poland. His idea was, by leaving it nominally independent, to secure the constant predominance of Russian influence. By the fusion of the Russian and French parties this would be easy, and Poland would thus be always a weapon against both Austria and Prussia. The Regent was tempted. For many reasons he would gladly have seen the crown of Poland on the head of his son, the Duke of Chartres, the French prince chiefly in view. At the same

time this marriage seemed to him somewhat of a *mésalliance*, as Catherine was not of royal family, and there were questions about the validity of her marriage, and therefore about the legitimacy of Elizabeth herself. Besides this, he did not feel sure how such a marriage would be received in England, and his policy was based on the most cordial relations with that country. To such an extent was this carried, that now that the English had no Minister in Russia the despatches of Campredon were frequently sent in the original to King George, who returned them with comments in his own handwriting. Six months therefore passed before the Regent replied with a long instruction written by Cardinal Dubois, who tried to arrange matters to the satisfaction of every one. He accepted in principle the idea of the marriage, but wished to adjourn it until the question of the Polish succession was regulated, and insisted that the Duke of Chartres should be elected King of Poland as a preliminary condition to the marriage. He proposed a treaty for a defensive union into which England was to enter as one of the parties—a mere development of the treaty of the Hague of 1717, except that England should take the place of Prussia. France and England were to guarantee the treaty of Nystad, the three powers were to promise to one another help against any attack, except in case of a war between Russia and Turkey. Still faithful to old French ideas, he had no intention of sacrificing Turkey to Russia. French commerce was to receive the treatment of the most favoured nation, and now that the commercial spirit was developing in France it was thought this would be of great utility. Nevertheless, in case there were no hope of bringing about a friendly understanding between Russia and Great Britain, Campredon was authorised to sign the treaty without England. When these instructions arrived at St. Petersburg, in the autumn of 1722, Peter was on his Persian campaign. Campredon met him at Moscow on his return, and the Tsar on hearing that he had powers and instructions received him at once, but, foreseeing that the marriage would be discussed, sent every one out of the room, even Osterman, and no one but Catherine remained. As soon as Campredon pronounced the name of the Duke of Chartres, 'I know and esteem him highly,' he said, and straightway marked satis-

faction appeared on his face as well as on that of Catherine. He did not give an immediate reply, but in order to act with the necessary caution, as well as quickness, confided the negotiations to Dolgorúky, who had come from Paris, leaving in complete ignorance Osterman, who, noted for his delays and dissimulation, had charge only of the official conferences for the treaty of alliance. Peter rejected at once the idea of postponing the marriage until the vacancy of the Polish throne. He probably had some thought that owing to the feeble health of Louis XV., to whose lot it had come to marry, instead of Elizabeth, the daughter of his enemy Stanislas, he might yet see his daughter Queen of France. Besides, the adjournment was incompatible with his views and his dignity. 'What would happen,' said Dolgorúky to Campredon, 'if the King of Poland should live for fifteen years yet?'[1] and he pressed the marriage in the shortest delay, as well as an engagement to adopt a common policy in Poland. Campredon drew up an arrangement in this sense, which he sent to his Government in March, 1723, asking for powers to sign it. He entered warmly into the design, exerted himself to the utmost to win over the Duke of Chartres and his father the Regent, and to obviate the objections of Dubois. The election to the Polish throne, he insisted, was only a question of time. 'This event, perhaps, cannot be far off. The King of Poland needs only a new, witty, and affectionate mistress to render it near. Persons who have seen him recently have assured me that, according to all appearances, he cannot live long.' 'There is nothing but what is agreeable in the person of the Princess Elizabeth. It may be said indeed that she is a beauty in her figure, her complexion, her eyes, and her hands. Her defects, if she has any, are on the side of education and manners; but I am assured that she is so intelligent that it will be easy to rectify what is lacking by the care of some skilful and experienced person, who should be placed near her if the affair should be concluded.' Campredon even tried to awaken jealousy by announcing the arrival of the Princes of Hesse-Homburg, who were said to be aspirants to the hands of the Grand Duchesses.

[1] In fact, King Augustus recovered his health sufficiently to live until 1733.

He addressed little compliments to Dubois and asked for his portrait. But while he wrote letter after letter, he received no reply. He repeated his request to the Cardinal, to the Regent, and to the King himself, but he seemed to be entirely forgotten, and was left, not only without instructions, but without pay. Having spent all his money, obliged to borrow to pay the postage on his despatches, he did not dare to go to the palace lest pressing questions might be asked, shut himself up and pretended to be ill. In September he was invited to visit Peterhof, and was received as amiably as ever by the Emperor, who showed him his little plain house as well as the copies which he had made in his park of the great villas of Europe. Osterman, however, told him that the Emperor was unable to understand why the King had not yet given any orders with regard to the negotiations begun at Moscow. 'Several Courts believe it finished by the signature of a treaty. That of Vienna has expressed its inquietude. He cannot understand why the King so neglects his alliance after having expressed his desire for it. His intentions were good and sincere. He is not accustomed to see himself scorned, and his situation appears to merit less indifference.' Cardinal Dubois had allowed fifteen despatches on the subject to go unanswered. To the sixteenth he drew up a reply, not so much to settle matters as to calm the impatience of Campredon. Dubois admitted that the chief causes of the delay were the difficulties raised in England, that the King had decided to send Mr. Chavigny as special envoy to London to arrange them, and meanwhile he sought to avoid giving a categorical answer. The despatch was copied and dated August 1, but it was long before it arrived, and then was signed by De Morville, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, for Dubois had been taken ill on August 2, and had died on the 10th. No official reply was even given to the Emperor with regard to the proposal, and some months later he learnt of the marriage of the Duke of Chartres with a German princess. Shortly after the Duke of Orleans himself, who, after the death of Dubois, became Minister of State, the majority of the King having now been declared, died of apoplexy on December 3, 1723.

Though the French Ministers were at this epoch frequently without instructions, and especially during the Ministry of the

Duke of Bourbon, they made no scruple of acting on their own responsibility for what they considered the good of the State. It was in this way that Bonac and Campredon had arranged the treaty between Russia and the Porte with regard to Persia, and the idea struck Campredon that he could persuade the Emperor to renew relations with England, out of gratitude for the mediation at Constantinople. The very day that the treaty arrived at St. Petersburg, knowing that the Emperor was going in state to the cathedral, Campredon posted himself near the door, and noticing that Peter had an air of satisfaction, then unusual with him, managed to approach him at the very moment when he got off his horse to enter the church. Peter held out his hand, and alluding to the treaty of Nystad, said: 'You have always been for me an angel of peace.' 'Arrange then, Sire,' replied Campredon, 'so that I may have this honour up to the end. Your Majesty knows all that the King my master has done for you. Will you not then do something out of consideration for his Majesty, who, in the efforts that he has made for so long for the re-establishment of a good understanding between you and the King of England, desires only your glory and your true interests?' 'I shall not be ungrateful,' said the Emperor, 'and I will give my Ministers orders with which you will be quite satisfied.' A few days afterwards he officially announced his intention of treating for a reconciliation with England, and begged France to bring it about. The French Court was as much surprised as were the Russian Ministers, and there seemed now to be no obstacle to the conclusion of an alliance. But the Duke of Bourbon made a new demand. Carrying out the wish expressed by Cardinal Dubois at the beginning, he insisted that England should sign the treaty as a contracting party. This the Russians refused, as they were willing to renew diplomatic relations, but could not pass in one day from hostilities to intimacy. This was the end of the negotiations. Peter gave no positive refusal. He even hinted at a renewal of the proposition of marriage, substituting the Duke of Bourbon for the Duke of Chartres, with also the promise of the Polish crown, and at the very end of 1724 gave Campredon the hope that he could soon give a final answer. But the very day when the Ministers attended the Council for

the discussion of the treaty with France, the Emperor was ill and unable to receive them. His death prevented matters from going further at that time.

These negotiations were not carried on so secretly but that something leaked out, and Mardefeld wrote to Berlin that there was a question of marrying one of the daughters of the Emperor to a French prince. He was not quite sure which daughter, and among the princes he mentioned even the Count of Charolais. The King of Prussia in writing to his Minister mentioned in great secrecy a rumour which had reached him, that it might be agreeable to marry the eldest Russian princess to the Crown Prince of Prussia. In reply, Mardefeld, while speaking of a proposed match with the Duke of Holstein, sends a most flattering account of the Princess Anne, her beauty, her virtues, and her character.

The wooing of the Duke of Holstein did not go on smoothly, and followed the variations of the negotiations with Sweden. The idea of a marriage between the Duke of Holstein and a Russian princess had originally been proposed by Goertz as long back as 1713, when it seemed to him the only way of saving Holstein. As both the Tsar's daughters were then children, it had no other effect than to give Peter a friendly disposition towards the Duke. Though dropped, the idea was never forgotten, and when later on there were difficulties at the Åland Congress, the Tsar had thought that it might be of use that he should be known as at least the patron of the Duke. For this purpose he invited him to Russia, and Bassewitz, his Minister, strongly supported the plan; but the councils of the Duke were divided, and although he clung to Bassewitz, he refused for the moment to follow his advice. When they perceived the prospect of speedy peace between Russia and Sweden, the Duke himself proposed to go to Russia, but not so much cordiality was shown on the part of the Tsar. Besides this, the Duke lacked money, and Peter excused himself from an advance on the ground of the poverty of his own treasury. Finally, when the Duke and his advisers became convinced that they must get Russian protection, or have nothing at all, Marshal von Schulemburg loaned him a hundred thousand thalers, and travelling through Poland disguised as a Russian

officer, the Duke arrived at Mitau in the summer of 1721, where he met the Tsar, and was received with especial kindness by Catherine. On coming to St. Petersburg he was given every opportunity of seeing the princess, was treated with kindness and attention, but all propositions for marriage were evaded until it was found first whether he was personally agreeable, and then whether he would suit the political views of the Tsar. After the peace of Nystad, Bassewitz concluded that the Duke had been left in the lurch. Nevertheless he was invited to Moscow, where he remained during the absence of the Tsar on the Persian campaign—the princesses having been sent back to St. Petersburg—increasing daily his love for *vodka*, soon showing himself no mean rival to the strongest-headed Russian. Nor was that the greatest fault noticed in his conduct, but apparently not too much stress was laid on his fondness for the other sex. Foreigners said it was in bad taste; the Russians said nothing at all.

Yet the Duke had not entirely given up his hopes of recognition in Sweden. His partisans in Stockholm wrote to him that they trusted the prophecy of Ezekiel, which it so happened had been read as the lesson on the day before the King's coronation, would be fulfilled.[1] As the Swedish Diet was soon to open, Peter wrote from the army begging the Duke to send Bassewitz to Stockholm, and the Senate gave him ten thousand rubles for his expenses.

Immediately after the peace of Nystad, Michael Bestúzhef, the brother of the Minister at Copenhagen, had been sent as Resident to Stockholm. Bestúzhef found that the King and his personal adherents, who were making a strong effort to have the succession to the throne established in the Hesse-Cassel dynasty, were suspicious of the presence of the Duke of Holstein in Russia, and disturbed by the reports of his probable marriage with the Princess Anne. The King even proposed,

[1] 'And thou, profane wicked Prince of Israel, whose day is come, when iniquity shall have an end, thus saith the Lord God; Remove the diadem, and take off the crown: this shall not be the same: exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high. I will overturn, overturn, overturn it: and it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is; and I will give it him.'—Ezekiel xxi. 25, 26, 27.

through Campredon, to recognise the Imperial title, provided Peter would enter into no obligations with the Duke of Holstein, and would send him out of Russia. At the same time Bestúzhef, who found a strong party in favour of the Duke, was endeavouring to obtain the recognition of his title of Royal Highness, and of his eventual rights to the Swedish throne. The royal party was divided in the Diet of 1723, and although the King ordered the arrest in Finland of Bassewitz, who was then on his way to Stockholm, he was obliged by public opinion to withdraw his order, and on the request of the Diet was even obliged to give him an official audience. The Diet agreed to bestow on the Duke the title of Royal Highness, and at the same session consented to acknowledge the Imperial title of Russia. Against the recognition of the Duke, both the King and Queen, instead of signing the decrees, sent in written protests. It was thought best not to move the question of recognising the Duke as eventual heir to the Swedish crown. For the present it would be better for him to content himself with the pension which had been voted to him by the Diet. Bestúzhef, however, proposed a defensive alliance between Russia and Sweden, and notwithstanding the efforts of the English and the Danish Ministers, the Diet authorised the Senate to conclude such a treaty, and it was signed on February 22, 1724. By this, if either of the contracting powers should be attacked by any European Christian power, the other was bound to use its good offices for re-establishing peace, and if its efforts proved vain, to assist with troops; Russia to furnish twelve thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry, nine ships of the line, and three frigates; Sweden, if necessary, to give eight thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, six ships of the line, and two frigates. Other powers by mutual consent could join in this treaty, which was concluded for twelve years. In addition to the free export of grain, provided for by the treaty of Nystad, Sweden was to be allowed to import from Riga, without payment of duty, hemp and flax to the amount of fifty thousand rubles a year. By two secret articles it was agreed that Russia and Sweden should use their best efforts with Denmark and other powers to secure the restoration to the Duke of Holstein of the Duchy of Slesvig, and that foreign

intervention should not be allowed in Poland, whose ancient freedom, privileges, and rights were to be protected by the two powers jointly.

Although the alliance with Sweden had been made in the winter, yet time passed and no decision was arrived at with regard to the Holstein marriage. Peter was taken up with his cure at Olonetz, with the coronation of Catherine, and with his amusements on sea and shore during the summer. To any representations of Bassewitz he gave jesting answers, saying that for the moment he was disinclined to consider the subject. As the Duke of Holstein claimed to be the heir to the Swedish Crown he must have permission of the King to marry, and until that was obtained such a thing could not be thought of. Then, in November, 1724, came an event which dashed all the Duke's hopes to the ground. The Emperor had suddenly discovered what was otherwise an open secret, the corruption of Mons, the chamberlain and secretary to the Empress, and of his sister, Matrena Balk, one of her ladies of honour.

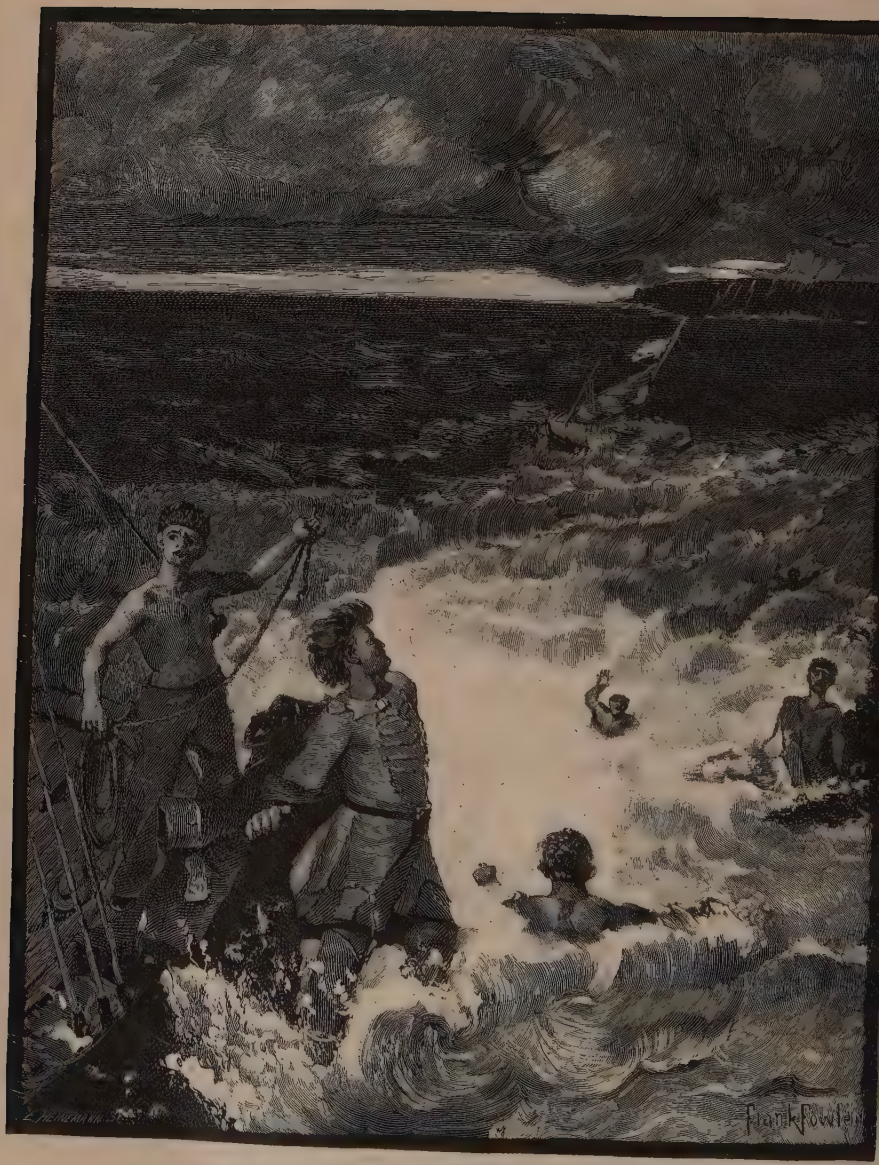
It is not known who gave the information, but on the evening of November 19, Peter, who had been passing the evening with his page, Basil Petróvitch, returned and found his family with the officers of the Court. He asked Mons to look at his watch, and, finding that it was after nine o'clock, said, 'It is time to go to bed,' and went to his room. Everybody retired. Mons went home, undressed himself, and had begun to smoke a pipe, when General Ushakóf entered, arrested him, took his keys, sealed up everything, and carried him to his own house. On arriving they found the Emperor already there, who, looking sharply at Mons, said, 'You are here too?' and went off. The next day Mons was subjected to an interrogatory in the presence of the Emperor, which so unnerved him that he fainted, and it was necessary to bleed him. The next day he was again questioned and was threatened with torture. To save himself from this he confessed that he had turned to his own use the revenues of several estates of the Empress, and that he had taken a bribe from a peasant with the promise of making him a groom of the Empress. He was sent to the fortress, and subsequently, on November 25, was condemned to death. Catherine had the courage to ask Peter

for the pardon of Mons and his sister, at which the Emperor flew into such a passion that he smashed with his fist a handsome Venetian mirror. 'Thus,' he said, 'I can annihilate the most beautiful adornment of my palace.' Catherine could not but understand that in these words there was a hint at her own position, but calmly replied: 'And have you made the palace any the more beautiful by doing so?' Peter smiled, but refused to listen to his wife's prayers. Catherine fully expected to obtain the pardon of Mons, and the day after his arrest had even sent word to Madame Balk that she need be in no anxiety for her brother, as the matter would have no consequences. The evening before the execution Peter himself went to bid Mons good-bye, and said he was sorry to lose him, but this time it could not be otherwise.

On the eve of this arrest the Emperor had forbidden any one to ask him for pardon of criminals, which made people suspect that something was wrong. A proclamation was now issued ordering every one who had ever given Mons a bribe, or knew of a bribe having been given to him, to declare it, and subsequently many of the names were published. It is strange that the corruption of Mons had so long escaped the notice of the Emperor. With him were implicated, not only his sister and his secretary, but also Makárof, the private secretary of the Emperor, and Mamónof, an aide-de-camp of the Tsar. Through Mons and his sister it was possible to reach Catherine, and they had so skilfully arranged matters that it was difficult to approach her in any other way; Catherine had an influence over her husband, and therefore the importance of Mons was very great. Among those who had given him presents and sent him bribes were the Tsaritsa Prascovia, her daughters, the Duke of Holstein, Prince Menshikóf, Prince Repnín, Tolstói—in fact, every one. The amount of money given to him varied according to the importance of the request or the wealth of the person. Nothing was too small for him to take—a hundred ducats, three hundred, five hundred, a thousand rubles. The peasant Soliánikof, who, according to law, ought to have gone back to his village, but preferred to remain in St. Petersburg, got an honorary position as groom to the Empress for four hundred rubles. Mons had besides obtained large estates and

It had been expected that the marriage would take place speedily at Riga, as the Duke was to live there as Governor-General of Livonia. Some delay was, however, necessary for the preparations, and especially for procuring the wedding presents, the clothes and the diamonds, which were ordered from Paris.

Of late years the character of Peter seemed to have changed greatly. The violent emotions in which his life had been passed had begun to affect him. Sometimes he was indefatigable in work; at others he desired solitude, and was so morose that no one dared speak to him, even about business. At times he would indulge in long conversations with his confessor; at others he would send for his doctor, and perhaps immediately afterward give himself up to drinking and feasting. At the end of August he had taken part in the consecration of a church at his new country palace of Tsárskoe-Seló. The festivities continued for several days, and as many as three thousand bottles of wine were drunk. The consequence was an illness which kept him in bed for a week, but he had no sooner got up again than he went off to Schlüsselburg, and there had a new debauch on the anniversary of the capture of the fort. From Schlüsselburg Peter went to the iron-works of Olonetz, hammered out with his own hands a sheet of iron weighing more than a hundred pounds; then went to Nóvgorod, and from Nóvgorod to Stáraya-Rus, to examine the salt-works. After this came a visit to the Ládoga canal, which, under the directions of Münnich, was making great progress. During the previous five years, hardly eight miles had been dug by twenty thousand men, while Münnich had succeeded in cutting over three miles in a single year, hoped before winter to dig five more, and employed only twenty-nine hundred soldiers and five thousand free workmen. The cost of working, too, was much less than before. In the early part of November, Peter returned to St. Petersburg by water, and immediately started for Systerbeck to examine the iron-works there. As he approached the village of Lakhta, near the mouth of the Neva, he saw a boat full of soldiers and sailors at the mercy of the wind and storm, which finally grounded before his eyes. Peter impatiently ordered his men to sail up to it, jumped into the



PETER SAVING THE LIVES OF THE SAILORS.

water up to his waist, and aided in dragging the boat off the shoal. Several of his own crew were drowned in assisting him, but Peter worked the whole night in the water, and succeeded in saving the lives of twenty men. The next day he felt an attack of fever, put off his cruise to Systerbeck, and sailed back to St. Petersburg.

With this mode of life it is not to be wondered that Peter's health, instead of improving, grew every day worse. He had returns of the strangury which had troubled him at Riga, and again after the Persian campaign. At the same time he was afflicted with the stone. He had days of intense suffering when he could scarcely attend to any business, and periods of respite when he indulged in some of his favourite occupations. At the end of December he took part in one of those coarse farces which seemed to satisfy a certain side of his nature, but which, as he grew older, seemed so incongruous with his character and his position. He proceeded to elect a new 'Prince-pope,' the head of his 'most frolicsome and drunken synod,' in place of Buturlín, who had died some months before in consequence of his drunkenness and gluttony. In a hall in Buturlín's house a throne was erected, covered with striped material, on which Bacchus presided, seated on a cask. In the next room, where the 'conclave' assembled, fourteen compartments were constructed, while in the midst was a table with a stuffed bear and a monkey, a cask of wine, and dishes of food. After a solemn procession, the Emperor shut up the 'cardinals' in the room of the conclave, and put his seal on the door. No one was allowed to come out until a new 'pope' had been chosen, and every quarter of an hour the members of the conclave were obliged to swallow a large spoonful of whiskey. The next morning at six o'clock, Peter let them out. They had disputed among themselves for a long time, and as they could not decide on a pope, had been obliged to ballot for him. The lot fell on an officer of the commissariat, who, with coarse and obscene ceremonies, was then placed upon the throne, and all were obliged to kiss his slipper. In the evening which followed, the guests were served with meat of wolves, foxes, bears, cats, and rats.

On New Year's Day the Emperor assisted at the customary

fireworks on the Trinity Place, opposite the Chancery of the Senate. The Church Parade on the Epiphany, with the blessing of the Neva, passed off as usual, and although he caught a violent cold there, yet three days afterwards Peter went with Catherine to a harlequin wedding of the servants of one of his orderlies, for which all the rebec players that could be found had been brought together. In the last week of January he went to the assemblies at the houses of Count Tolstói and Admiral Cruys, and even on the 26th visited Seniávin. The next day he proposed to go to Riga to prepare for the wedding of his daughter, but feeling unwell he postponed the journey for a week. He was forced to take to his bed, attended by his body physician, Dr. Blumentrost, and soon Horn, a well known surgeon, who had had long experience in French hospitals, and other doctors were called in consultation. It was discovered that he had an inflammation of the bladder, which made rapid progress, and which it was then too late to arrest.[1] On the day after he was taken ill he received Osterman and others, seemed anxious to conclude several matters, and his Ministers remained in council about his bed the whole night. On February 2 he had a long talk with the Duke of Holstein, and promised to accompany him to Riga as soon as he got well, but afterwards feeling worse, he confessed and received the sacrament. On the 6th he signed a proclamation freeing all persons who had been exiled to hard labour, and pardoned all criminals except those who were condemned for murder and for heinous offences. Catherine, by her entreaties, obtained the pardon of Menshikóf. Soon his pain became so great that Osterman begged him to take care of himself and not to think

[1] Dr. Blumentrost sent an account of Peter's symptoms to Dr. D. Stahl, in Berlin, and the celebrated Professor Herman Boerhave, in Leyden, with a request for advice. These letters were sent by special couriers. Before Boerhave could write out his judgment he received the news of the Emperor's death. On reading this second letter he is said to have exclaimed: 'My God! was it possible to allow that great man to die, when he might have been cured with a pennyworth of medicine?' In conversation with other doctors with regard to the case, Boerhave expressed the opinion that the Emperor might have lived for many years if he had had proper care and had not concealed his disease so long, and jumped into the water in November. The saving of life at Lakhta had evidently been one cause of his death.

of attending to business. His agony was at times so intense as to tear from him loud cries and shrieks. Feeling a little better, and his mind turning perhaps to the thought of his successor, he called for a slate, which was given to him, but he succeeded in writing only two words, 'Give all,' when the pen dropped from his hand. He called for his daughter Anna, in order to dictate to her, but when she appeared he was no longer able to pronounce a single word. He sank into an unconscious condition, in which he remained for thirty-six hours. At last, on February 8, at six o'clock in the morning, he expired.

When it became known that the state of the Emperor was hopeless, the senators and other magnates assembled in one of the halls of the palace, to take measures for the succession. Many of them still clung to the old feeling in favour of hereditary succession, and declared themselves on the side of the little son of Alexis. Others, and the more influential, felt that this would be a dangerous risk for them. Tolstói knew that the nation hated him, and accused him of being the murderer of the Tsarévitch; Yaguzhínsky owed everything to Peter and Catherine; Menshikóf was sure that if Catherine ascended the throne he could manage affairs at his pleasure, and he had taken the precaution to surround the palace with two regiments of guards, after having previously assured himself of their fidelity. The dispute was long and bitter, and Prince Repnín, the field-marshal in command of the army, stood out long for the young prince. At last he yielded to the view of Tolstói that, in the absence of any written or oral declaration of his will by the Emperor, the oath given by them to Catherine on her coronation should be considered binding. The Senate, therefore, decided that, when Peter died, they would recognise Catherine as Empress. When this was done, they all went into the next room, where the dying Emperor lay, and remained there until all was over. They then withdrew, and a little after, Catherine, leaning on the arm of the Duke of Holstein, came in and besought them to protect and defend her. When she had finished speaking, Apráxin threw himself on his knees before her and announced the decision of the Senate. The hall resounded with cries of acclamation, which were repeated in the streets by the guards, and the announcement of the accession of Catherine

was spread through the city as soon as that of the death of Peter. The oath of allegiance to the Empress was not administered everywhere without protest, but the terror and awe inspired by Peter's name was still too great for any decided opposition.

On February 10 the embalmed body of the Emperor was placed on a bed of state, in one of the smaller halls in the palace, hung with the tapestries given by Louis XV. on Peter's visit to Paris, and the people were admitted to view it. On February 24 the coffin was transferred to another *salon*, which had been decorated as a hall of mourning, and not long afterward there was placed beside it another, containing the body of his little daughter Natalia. On March 19, with imposing ceremonies, the coffin was transferred to the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul in the fortress, and after the Liturgy a sermon was preached by Theophán Prokópovitch. The body was sprinkled with earth, according to the Russian rite, the coffin was closed, the imperial mantle was thrown over it, and it remained on the *catafalco*, under a canopy in the centre of the church, until June 1, 1731, in the reign of the Empress Anne, when it was consigned to the vault where it now reposes.

People breathed more freely in the West when the news came that Peter was dead. Rudakofsky wrote from Poland in February, addressed to Peter himself, that his enemies had spread the news of his death. 'The dead flies,' he says, 'have begun to raise their noses again, and think that now the Russian Empire is going to destruction. There is everywhere the greatest joy, everywhere firing of musketry and banqueting.' The Russian Minister at Stockholm wrote that he had seen that the King and his partisans were greatly delighted, and that there was everywhere the conviction that there would be the greatest disturbances in Russia. Bestúzhef wrote from Copenhagen that, at the news of Peter's death, 'all, even the first at Court, as well as the common people, got drunk from delight.' The Queen sent a thousand ducats to the poor, ostensibly on account of the convalescence of the King, but really, it was said, to express her joy at Peter's death. The King, he added, was, however, very angry at such manifestations, but that people in general expected there would be anarchy in Rus-

sia. King Frederick William I. of Prussia was an exception. He shed tears when Golófkin gave him the news, wore mourning, even in Potsdam, and ordered the official signs of grief to be continued for three months, as if he himself had died.

We have seen the feeling of the Russian people toward Peter. Since that time he has passed into legend. His severity has not been forgotten, but the awe is tempered with admiration, and in the popular imagination he is a hero like Ivan the Terrible.

Among the higher classes it is the fashion to speak of him as a demi-god, and writers scarcely mention his name without adding 'that man of genius.' Even those who blame the way in which he forcibly warped the current of Russian history render homage to his great qualities. As Kostomárof says: 'He loved Russia, loved the Russian people—loved it not in the sense of the mass of Russians contemporary with and subject to him, but in the sense of that ideal to which he wished to bring the people. For that reason, this love constitutes that great quality in him which causes us, even against our will, to love him personally, leaving out of view his bloody tribunals and all his demoralising despotism, which has exercised a baneful influence even on posterity. On account of Peter's love of the ideal of the Russian people, a Russian will love Peter as long as he does not himself lose this national ideal, and for this love will pardon in him all that lies with such heavy weight on his memory.'[1]

One blame may, we think, be rightly attached to Peter; that he brought Russia prematurely into the circle of European politics. As to the effect upon Europe, contemporary national rivalries hinder a fair conclusion. As to that upon Russia there can be but one opinion. The result has been to turn the Rulers of Russia away from home affairs and the regular development of internal institutions to foreign politics and the creation of a great military power. In this sense it cannot be deemed beneficial to Russia.

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[1] Golikóf, ix., x.; Soloviéf, xviii.; *Despatches* of Mardefeld and Le Fort; Bassewitz; P. N. Petrof, 'The Cesarevna Anna Petrovna,' in *Memorials of Modern Russian History*, vol. i., St. Petersburg, 1871; Semófsky, *The Mons Family*; A. Vandal, *Louis XV. et Elisabeth de Russie.*

NOTE.

The Testament of Peter the Great.

We have seen that Peter died without making a will, without even being able to name his successor; that his efforts to speak were cut short by weakness. Nevertheless, a paper known as the 'Testament of Peter the Great' has now for half a century been in circulation and frequently quoted, although its forgery was plainly shown twenty years ago. It may be stated positively that no such document has ever been found in the Russian archives, and these archives are freely open to historical students.

Considering the way in which this paper has been quoted, it may be worth while to state its genesis. It was first mentioned in a book first published in 1812 by Charles Louis Lesur, then employed in the French Foreign Office, and afterwards the author of various historical and political works, under the title of the 'Progress of the Russian Power, from Its Origin to the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century.'[1] This book, there is every reason to believe, the Emperor Napoleon ordered Lesur to write in order to furnish reasons for the invasion of Russia, and Sir Robert Wilson, attached by the English Government to the Russian army, writes, on December 22, 1812, that among the baggage left behind by the French were very many copies of this book in the house of the Duke of Bassano, Minister of Foreign Affairs; and he remarks expressly that it was published under the immediate superintendence of the French Government, and adds that the publication was very awkward, as it revealed the policy followed by France towards Russia, and was the final expression of the Russian errors of Napoleon.[2] In this book the Testament of Peter the Great is for the first time mentioned. Lesur says: 'We are assured that there exists in the special archives of the Russian Emperors secret memoirs written by the hand of Peter I., in which are plainly set forth the projects which this Prince had conceived and which he recommends to the attention of his successors, and which several

[1] *Progrès de la Puissance Russe depuis son Origine jusqu'au Commencement du XIX^e^ Siècle*, Paris, 1812. Par M. L.

[2] Private Diary of Sir Robert Wilson, London, 1861, vol. i., p. 257.

of them have in fact followed with an almost religious perseverance. Here is a summary of this plan.' This summary consists of fourteen articles, of which the first twelve are nothing more than a statement of the policy of Russia as shown up to the year 1812, and are mere prophecies after the event. The remaining two articles tell of what has to be done in order to conquer the whole of Europe. There are certain expressions, such as 'a cloud of Asiatic hordes,' 'disunited and schismatic Greeks,' which are in themselves sufficient evidence that the document could never have been drawn up by a Russian. But apart from this, those who are acquainted with the feelings and ideas of Peter during the last years of his life will see plainly that it could never by any possibility have originated with him. The book of Lesur was merely a pamphlet to justify the invasion of Russia by Napoleon.

Twenty-four years later, 1836, Frederic Gaillardet, who assisted Alexandre Dumas in writing the drama of 'La Tour De Nesle,' published 'Mémoires du Chevalier d'Eon'—that curious personage who, now under the guise of a woman and now that of a man, played a part at the Court of Elizabeth and afterwards at the French Embassy at London—purporting to be based on family papers and documents from the archives. In this book Gaillardet published what he claimed to be a literal and faithful copy of the 'Testament of Peter the Great,' which had been brought to Paris in 1757 by the Chevalier d'Eon, who had discovered it owing to the unbounded confidence with which he was received at Court and his unrestricted researches in the Russian archives, and had communicated it to Louis XV. and to the Abbé de Bernis, Minister of Foreign Affairs, only. This is in substance the same as published in the book of M. Lesur, though it is put in a more formal way, beginning: 'In the Name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity,' somewhat enlarged, and divided differently. In 1866, Gaillardet, who had gone to New York and become the editor of the 'Courrier des Etats-Unis,' published a new edition of his book, in which he admitted many mystifications and falsehoods in the first edition, but insisted that the new one was entirely based upon authentic documents. In this he still claimed for himself the credit of being the first to discover the copy of the 'Will of Peter the Great.' Even granting, which is not admitted by those who have made the French archives in the time of Louis XV. their special study, that the Chevalier d'Eon brought such a document to Russia, its genuineness is by no means proved. D'Eon did not

know Russian. Although he was a secret correspondent of Louis XV., and enjoyed great intimacy with the Court of Elizabeth, his character was not such as to enable us to believe his unsupported statements. He claims that this document was found in the archives of the Summer Palace of Peterhof, where, as is well known, no archives of any kind ever existed.

We next hear of the document in 1839. Léonard Chodzko, living at Paris, published a work under the title of 'La Pologne Historique, Littéraire, Monumentale, et Illustrée,' in which he gives details which seem to have been unknown even by Gaillardet, stating that it was in 1709, after the battle of Poltáva, that Peter first drew up the plan of his will, which he renewed in 1724. The text given by him is the same as that published by Gaillardet.

In 1854, during the Crimean War, when there was again reason to excite public opinion in Europe against Russia, Mr. J. Corréard, a military writer, published a map of the annexations of Russia from Peter I. to our days, and on the margin, among other notices, quotes the Will of Peter the Great, saying: 'This political testament was sketched out by Peter I. in 1710, after the battle of Poltáva, revised by him in 1722 after the peace of Nystad, and put into definite form by the Chancellor Osterman,' quoting it from the work of Chodzko.[1]

[1] G. Berkholtz, 'Das Testament Peters des Grossen,' in *Russische Revue*, vol. x. 1.

Boris, *d.* 1592. Nikita, *d.* 1

Married 1st, P

Dimitri, *b.* 1648, *d.* 1649. Eudoxia, *b.* 1650, *d.* 1712. Martha (Margarita), *b.* 1652, *d.* 1707. Alexis, *b.* 1654, *d.* 1670. An *b.* 1655,

Ivan
b. 1

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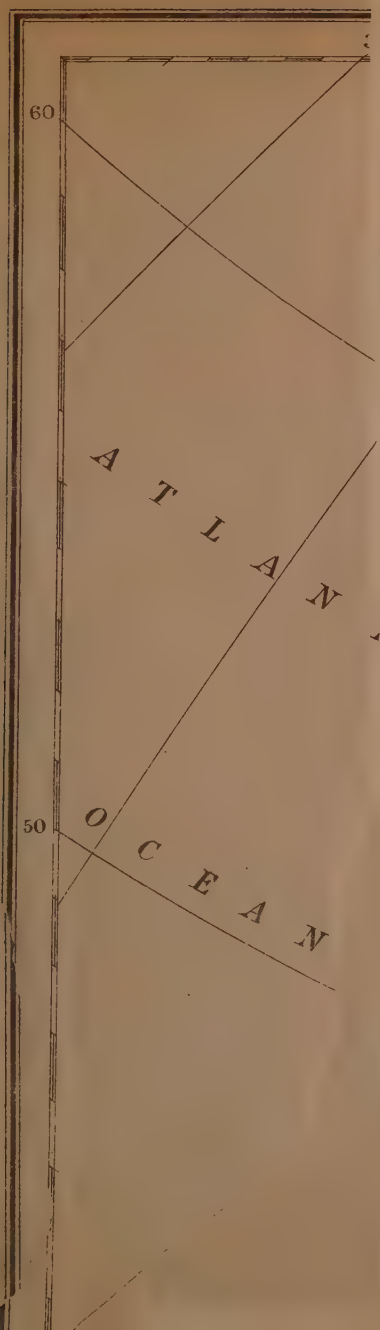
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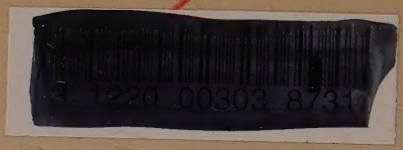
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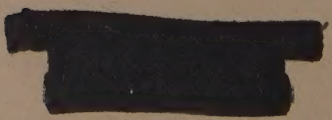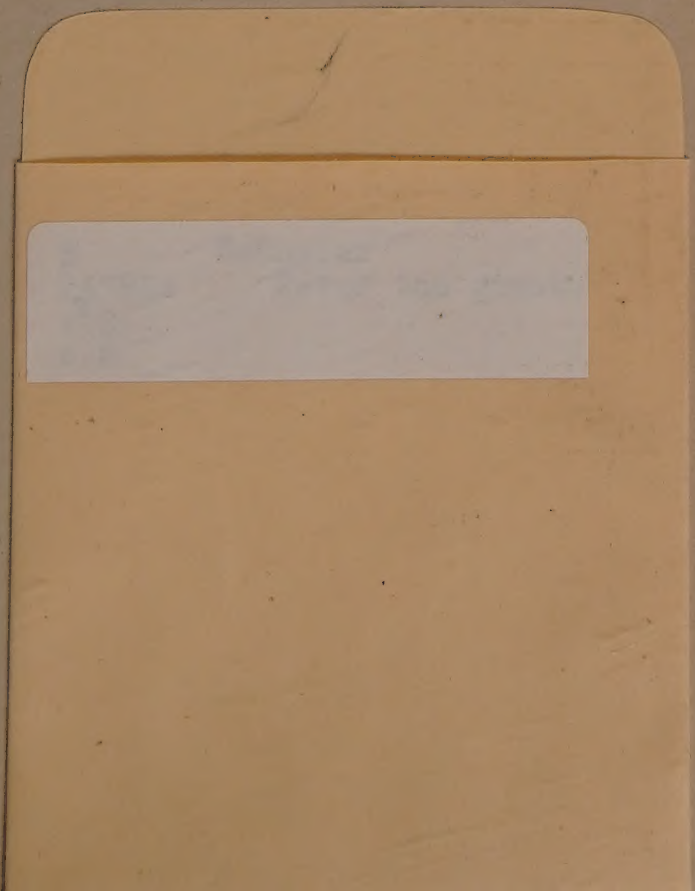
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